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THE WORLD AT WAR

**BY
J. Nelson Fraser**

Principal, Secondary Training College, Bombay

Third Edition

**With Nine Maps and Nine Illustrations
Bringing the Narrative up to
December 12th 1916**

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

We have lately passed through one of the most tragic moments in the history of the world. We have seen a war break out which has forced into arms the greatest nations of mankind. In its mere scale this war is unparalleled, and in other ways too it differs from all wars that have gone before it. It comes after the age of science and invention, when the world has grown so rich in material possessions that war is more destructive than ever. It comes after an age of growing charity and humanity. There has never been an age so averse to pain, nor an age when the relief of human suffering has engaged so many thoughts. Finally it comes after an age of growing intercourse between nations, and even of growing sympathy between individuals in the least friendly countries. And yet it has come—with a swiftness inconceivable and a force that has left us no chance to hope or wish or work for peace. On neither side has there been any doubt or division of feeling; on both sides there is a conviction that the struggle must be fought out to the end, and that national defeat means national death. Few other wars in the history of the world have brought with them this appalling sense of a mortal struggle.

This calamity has not overtaken mankind without good reason, and it should be natural for the educated man to wish to know what the reasons for it are. Many books have already been written to explain them; we have here one more added to their number. It is intended for junior students in India, but it may be found useful also by older readers.

Much of it is historical. The reasons for the present lie buried in the past; a study of the past shows us how we

have reached our own day. Unfortunately it sheds but too scanty a light on the future; nevertheless, it fills the present with interest, and as we move on it helps us to realise in what direction we are moving. For this reason there is much history in this book.

As for the brief sketch of the war, it is naturally written from the point of view of the present. But it is written with a full sense that this ink will not be dry before events have moved and even the unforeseen has occurred.

Bombay, February 1st, 1915.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In this edition the historical part has been rewritten so as to present within the same compass as before a proportionate account of the operations up to December 12th, 1916.

Bombay, December 12th, 1916.

PART I THE PAST

CHAPTER I

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

THE name "Germans" has been known to the people of Europe more than two thousand years, but we cannot say who first used it or to what language it really belongs. It was perhaps invented west of the Rhine, as a name for the people living north and east of that river. They called themselves "Deutsche",* which is indeed only the word for "people" in their own language; the word "German" they have never used.

We have a description of these people from the Roman writer Tacitus (A. D. 100). Though they were enemies of Rome, Tacitus' description is not unfriendly. He praises the strength and courage of the Germans, and he dwells a great deal on their love of battle. They hated peace, he says; all their thoughts were fixed on war. They chose their own leaders, whom they followed with single-hearted devotion. In quiet times they amused themselves with drinking and singing. They had no large cities, no arts nor industries. Their women were virtuous and modest; they moved freely amongst the men and lived on equal terms with them. It is interesting to see that though much in the German life and character has changed, much remains the same as it was two thousand years ago. And probably no race has changed in blood so little as the Germans. Between the Rhine, the Danube and the Vistula the inhabitants are largely born in a direct line from those whom Tacitus described.

* The rest of Europe applies this name only to a small part of the Germanic people, the Dutch, who call themselves "Hollander".

The Germans have never been contented to remain quiet within the limits of these rivers. Early in the history of Rome a German race, the Teutons,* poured down like a torrent upon Italy and threatened Rome with destruction. They were at length overpowered by the Roman armies (B. C. 102), but the Romans never forgot their narrow escape, and Julius Cæsar, when he conquered Gaul,† crossed the Rhine and in his turn carried the terror of the Roman name amongst the Germans (B. C. 55). There was never peace between the Germans and the arms of Rome; each side was victorious in turn; the Romans kept the Germans east of the Rhine, but they could never hold the land beyond it. There, amid the forests and marshes, the Germans were more than a match for the legions, and while Gaul became altogether Roman, Germany remained altogether free.

The power of Rome at this time (A.D. 1 to 200) stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates River, and every nation west of the Rhine and south of the Danube was governed by Roman officials. There came into existence a Roman world, which took its laws and its civilisation from Rome. For some centuries this world seems to have been well-governed and prosperous, but in the course of time, we cannot quite say why or how, it lost its energy, and in the hour of its decay its enemies fell upon it. Many of these enemies were the same Germans who had threatened Rome for ages. They now crossed the Danube or the Rhine and triumphed over the Roman Empire (A. D. 200 to 600).

This was not a matter of a few years but of generations, and we have no space here even for the names of the chief German tribes that invaded Southern Europe. We will mention only the Goths and the Franks. The Goths made their way to Spain (A. D. 500) where they settled, and they ruled the country till the Mohammedans crossed over from Africa

* The word is connected by derivation with the word "Deutsch"; we may call it the Roman attempt to pronounce the word "Deutsch".

† The Roman name for France was "Gallia", English "Gaul".

and conquered them (A.D. 713). You may still see their descendants in Spain, tall men with red beards and blue eyes, which form perhaps the general type of German. The Franks conquered France. They gave their own name to the country and their own leaders became the rulers of France.

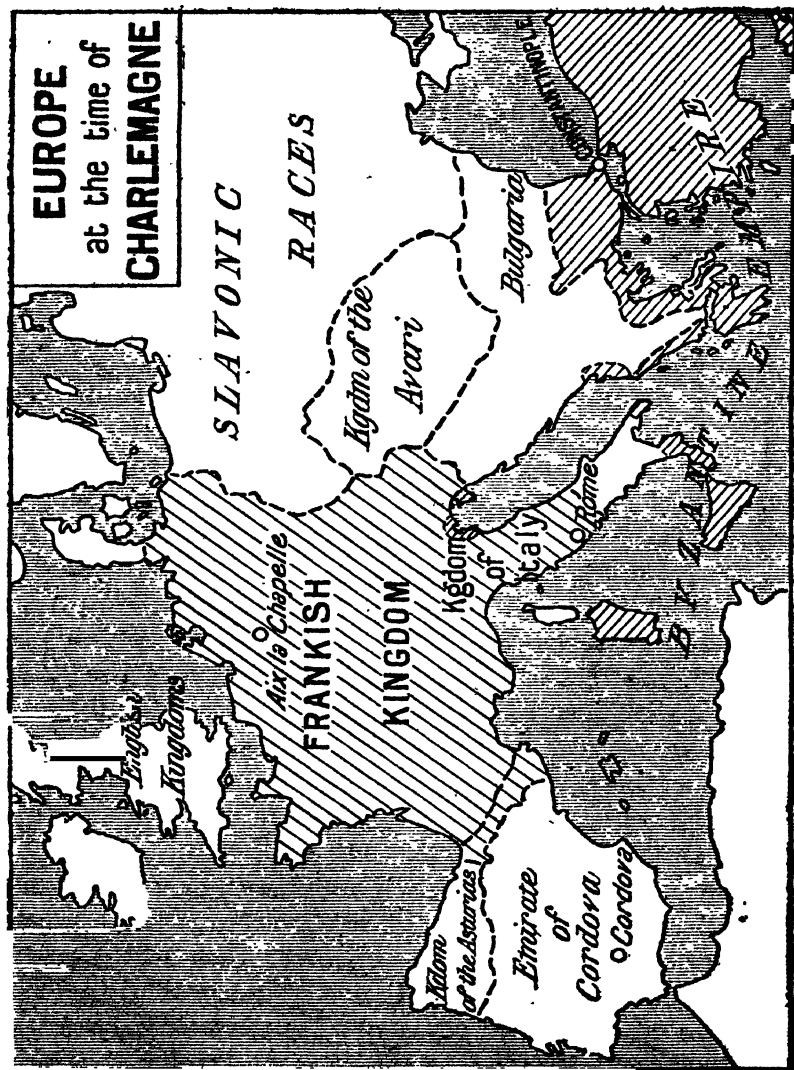
The greatest of these was Charlemagne.* He controlled not only France but all the land occupied by the old German peoples, most of Italy and part of Spain. The only part of Europe that did not belong to him was the South-East, which was ruled from Constantinople (Byzantium). Here there was a great Emperor who had kept part of the old dominions of Rome.

The first Germans who attacked the Roman Empire were barbarians, but by the time of Charlemagne the Germans had learned a great deal. They had learned to respect the civilisation of Rome, and Charlemagne liked to think that his empire was only carrying on the work of Rome. So he called it a Roman empire, and as the Germans had now become Christian he called it the Holy Roman Empire, and he asked the Pope to crown him at Rome.

We must respect his name as that of one of the greatest rulers in the history of Europe. He was a friend of order and good government, a friend of religion and education. With him we may say the Dark Ages end and the civilisation of Europe begins to grow again. His system of government was the Feudal System. He gave to his Counts and Princes pieces of land, estates, called *fiefs*, on condition that they should serve him in war. This system was perhaps the only one possible, but in the centuries that followed it became the source of much evil to Germany and to Europe. The Counts and Princes were always fighting each other, and the centre of Europe, especially Germany, became divided into many little kingdoms, where no one had any power except the restless nobles, who took no pleasure

* Charles the Great ; born, 768, died, 814.

EUROPE
at the time of
CHARLEMAGNE



in anything but war, and crushed the common people, we can hardly say by taxation, we must rather say, by robbery.

Charlemagne's great empire broke up soon after his death and France became independent under its own kings (843). The rest of his dominions passed to various German princes who were really independent but continued to choose one of their number as Emperor, and obeyed him as much or as little as his own strength of character compelled them to do. Some of these Emperors were soldiers,* and they led German armies across the Alps to fight in Italy, with the hope of winning the whole peninsula. But there were growing up (from 800 to 1000) in Italy strong towns, like Genoa and Florence and Venice, which the Germans could not subdue, and the Popes were always hostile to them. So, on the whole, throughout the Middle Ages the power of the German Emperors† was confined to Germany, and when the Emperor was a weak man his power even in Germany was not very great.

At length however a great German Empire was born in another way. The family of Habsburg rose to the first place among German princes (1273). They took their name from a little village in Switzerland and the original possessions of the family were confined to this district. It so happened however that they married well, especially one of them who inherited through marriage the crown of Spain (1477).‡ This brought with it the South of Italy, and the same German prince inherited also, through another marriage,

* The chief line was that of the Hohenstauffen family.

† In this book the term "German Emperor" is used from the time of Charlemagne to the time of Napoleon to describe the chief ruler of the German world, to whatever family he belonged, and wherever the centre of his rule was. From Napoleon's day to 1870, the expression "Austrian Emperor" is used because North Germany no longer recognised the (German) Emperor of Austria. Since 1870 the ruler of North Germany has borne the title "German Emperor", while the Austrian Emperor still rules over Austria.

‡ After the Goths, the Moors ruled over Spain for seven hundred years, and finally they were expelled by King Ferdinand (1452 to 1516) who became the first Christian king of the whole of Spain.

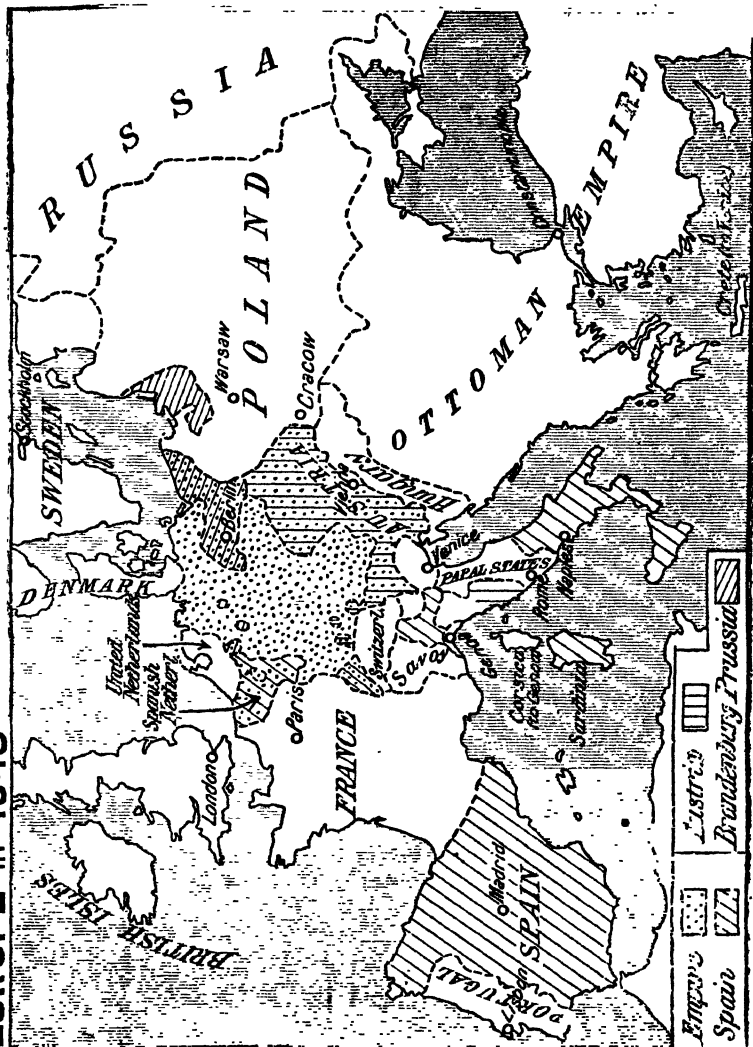
the Netherlands—the countries which are now called Holland and Belgium. Thus, when he was chosen Emperor by the other German princes he ruled over a German Empire almost as large as that of Charlemagne. His name was Charles V.

His Empire however did not last, any more than that of his great predecessor. After Charles' death it was divided between a king of Spain and the Habsburg family. The Habsburg family took their own German dominions in Austria and that part of Italy which Charles V had possessed. The head of the family was still elected German Emperor, but his power in Germany was shaken by the religious wars of the Reformation. Already in the reign of Charles V, Martin Luther (1483 to 1546) had led the great revolt against the Pope—Protestantism—which changed the whole life of Europe, and all the German princes took sides either for or against this movement. The Thirty Years' War (1618 to 1648) broke out between those of the Protestant and those of the Roman Church. It was a merciless war, which witnessed some of the most bloody scenes in the history of the world. When it was closed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), Germany was left wretched and exhausted.

There was still supposed to be a German Emperor; the German princes still elected one and they still chose the head of the Habsburg family. But he had no power outside Austria. He was scarcely able to defend himself against the Turks, who had taken Constantinople and had now conquered all the countries south of the Danube. On the east he had an enemy in the Kingdom of Poland, which was always troublesome, though it was never actually stronger than Austria.* In Northern Germany the Emperor had little authority, and the German princes ruled each in his own little state with absolute power.

* Once a famous King of Poland (Sobieski) saved Vienna from being captured by the Turks (1683).

A historical map of Europe from 1713, showing territorial divisions after the War of the Spanish Succession. The map uses various patterns and hatching to denote different powers. A legend in the bottom right corner identifies the patterns: solid for Empire, dotted for Spain, diagonal lines for Spain, and vertical lines for Prussia. Major countries labeled include Russia, Poland, Ottoman Empire, Sweden, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, and the Papal States. Key cities like London, Paris, Warsaw, Cracow, Vienna, and Constantinople are marked. The map also shows the British Isles, the Azores, and the Canary Islands.



We may here however mention one important part of the Austrian dominions, named Hungary. It is a large plain to the east of Vienna occupied by the Hungarians.* These were invaders from Asia who arrived in the tenth century and, after many generations of war with Austria, became more or less subject to the Austrian power. They are known in their own language as Magyars.

Though the German Emperor of Austria was not very powerful in North Germany he continued to be in name at any rate the head of the German peoples till the House of Habsburg was disagreeably surprised by the growth of Prussia. This was one of the small German states which had led a struggling existence for many centuries during the Middle Ages. It had no natural advantages of position; its soil was poor; it had no sources of wealth and no sea front. It did not seem likely therefore that it would ever rise to be the seat of a German Emperor. It was ruled however by a line of vigorous princes, who took their name from the little village of Hohenzollern. One of these princes, Frederick the Great

* In spite of some resemblance in their name the Hungarians are in no way connected with the Huns. The Huns were a Mongolian people who invaded Europe during the Dark Ages (about 450) under a king named Attila, and captured the city of Rome. They were afterwards overthrown and destroyed, and they never settled in Europe. We call them a Mongolian people because, as we learn from writers of the time, they had Mongolian features, flat noses, high cheek bones and oblique eyes. They were probably the only true Mongolian people who have ever invaded Europe. The Turks are sometimes called Mongolians, but wrongly; the features of the Turks are not unlike those of Europeans. The Hungarians were probably a people much like the Turks, but they became Christians, while the Turks became Mohammedans.

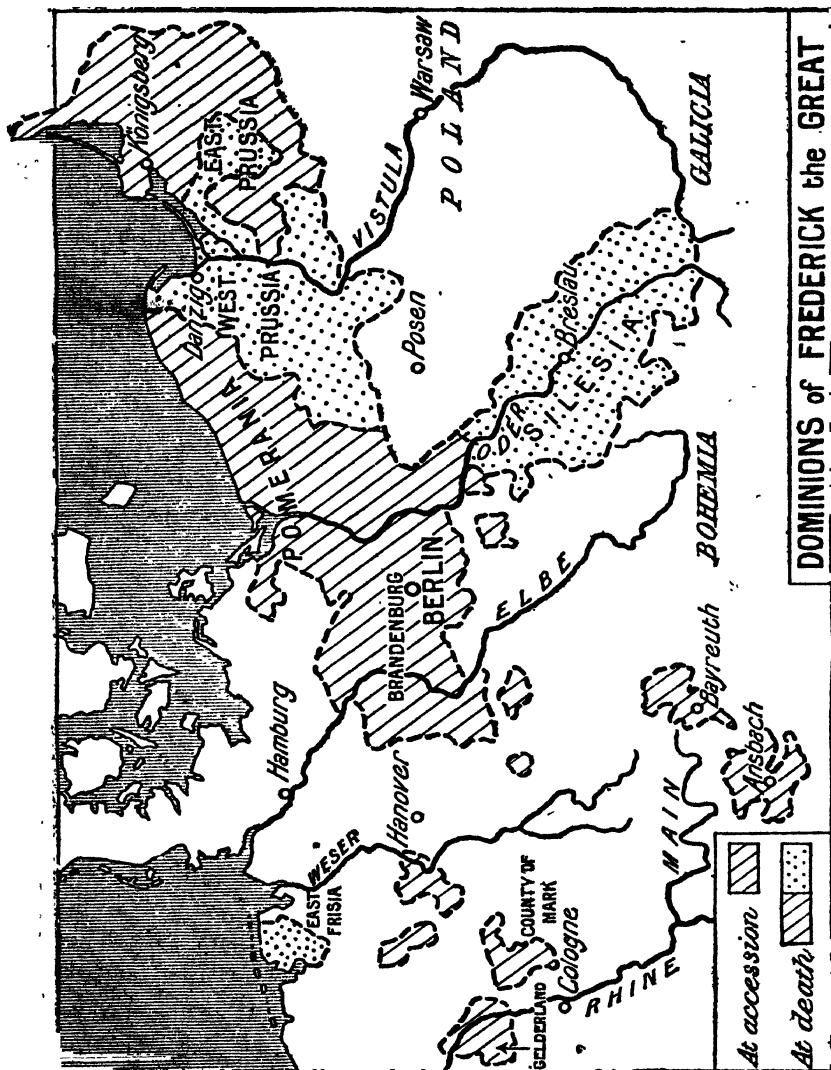
The Indian word "Moghul" is another form of the word "Mongolian". Of the many Mohammedan invaders of India, who are all called Moghuls, some were really Mongolians and had the Mongolian features, others were really Turks.

The Germans are not connected with the Huns any more than the Hungarians are. At the present moment they are often called by this name partly because their cruelty in Belgium has reminded the world of the Huns, partly because the Kaiser himself, in a speech to his troops when they were setting off for China, some years ago, bade them, in their warfare with the Chinese, imitate the ferocity of the Huns.

(1712 to 1786) resolved to step outside the limits of his ancestors and make Prussia one of the powers of Europe. The chance presented itself when the German Emperor of Austria died and his dominions passed to a young and helpless daughter, Maria Theresa. Frederick, acting with great promptitude and without the least scruple, seized on a rich part of her dominions named Silesia. Maria Theresa, who was a woman of strong character, did not surrender it without a struggle, and Frederick was led into wars which lasted for many years. He showed himself a general of genius and a man of unconquerable resolution. His armies were vastly outnumbered by those of Austria and her ally France, and his loss of men was appalling, but he was never absolutely crushed, and when peace was finally made he still held Silesia. In his own country he was a good ruler, just, economical, and prudent. His capital was Berlin, which began from this time to rise into eminence. Frederick was desirous to be known not only as a general and a ruler but a man of culture, and seeing that the highest culture of Europe at that time was French, he invited distinguished Frenchmen to visit him and impart a French tone to the life of his capital. He fought the French on the field of battle but he was not an enemy of French art and literature.

During his life Germany for the first time came into touch with England. Till then, whether in peace or war, the two countries had been strangers to each other; but since England joined Frederick in his war with France, for a time there was a cordial feeling between them.

We are now approaching modern times, and this is the place to cast a glance at the character of the German people. We have seen that Tacitus notes in them a love of war and fidelity to their chiefs. Through many centuries that follow, these characteristics seem to remain the same. Through many centuries (200 to 600) the history of Europe is a long attack by the German races on the rule and civilisation of Rome.



DOMINIONS of FREDERICK the GREAT

When this period ends, society is founded on a military base, the feudal system, which makes war part of the ordinary course of life. The personal devotion of the German chiefs continues as the uniting force of the feudal system; and this spirit of courage and devotion becomes the chief part of men's moral ideal. We call this spirit "chivalry".

No doubt other things went to make up chivalry. As time went on soldiers themselves began to feel that a soldier ought not to use his strength merely to plunder the weak; that he ought to fight his equals and protect the weak. This was especially the duty of the noble and well-born, and it became more or less agreed that when a man of good birth came of age he should not be allowed to carry arms and call himself a knight* unless he made a promise to use those arms in a chivalrous spirit. Sometimes no doubt the promise was scarcely made, and very often no doubt it was broken, but many knights made the promise quite seriously and kept it. During the Crusades (about 1100) many knights made a promise that they would fight for the Christian religion and such knights formed themselves into Orders for this purpose. It was during the Crusades that the knights of Europe did the most useful and honourable work for the world. Afterwards the word became only a name, but it was still valued, and all over Europe men of good birth, when they came to manhood, were usually knighted.

In Germany as in other countries of Europe the institution of knighthood and the ideas of chivalry did good service during the middle ages. But like other institutions and ideas they wore out. We may say that by the time of the Reformation (1500 to 1600) they were no longer useful to

* The word "knight" is a German word which meant originally "servant", and it was applied to a military servant of a prince or count. Then it became a title borne by any man of good birth who carried arms. At first this title might be bestowed by any knight on any man of birth who deserved it; later on, the princes and counts reserved the right of bestowing it themselves. At present it is bestowed by ruling princes on any distinguished servant of the Crown, whether he is a military servant or not.

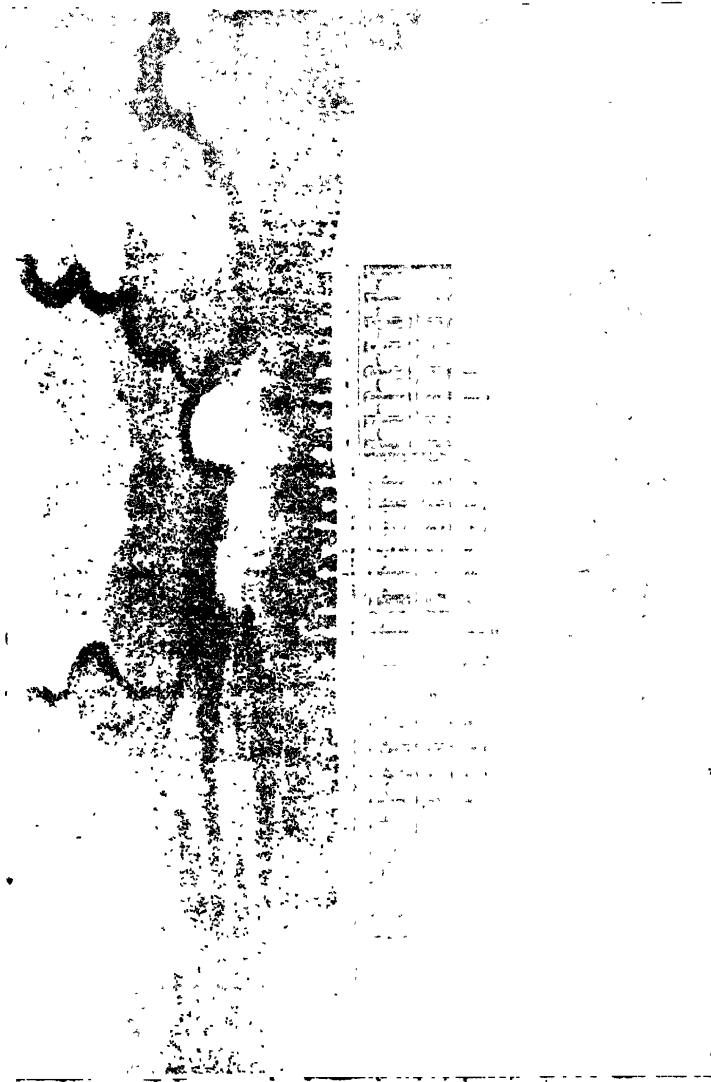
society, and every country was beginning to find something else instead of them. Unfortunately for Germany, just at this time she was plunged into the calamity of the religious wars (1618 to 1648), when the storm of passion and cruelty that swept over Central Europe greatly corrupted the souls of men. Nothing grew up in Germany to take the place of knighthood. In many of the German states there was nothing left but a selfish prince, a court of flatterers and a population of ignorant, degraded peasants. During all the eighteenth century, throughout most of Germany, there was no growth nor progress. In England and France there were many kinds of life and movement ; in Germany there was none. There was no growth of industry or trade. The only trading centres were in the North, where the great ports on the North and Baltic Seas continued to flourish.* They had risen early during the middle ages to wealth and freedom and they never lost their position (from 1400 onwards). But they were the only places of the kind in Germany. Throughout all these centuries we hear little of invention or art in Germany. Printing, however, was a German invention (about 1450), and music has always been a German art. It was during the eighteenth century that Germany gained the leading position in European music which she still holds.† We may remember that nearly two thousand years ago Tacitus noticed the German love of music.

When the French Revolution broke out (1789) the German Kings‡ and the German Emperor of Austria threatened to support the French King by arms, and this led to general war between the French people and the Germans. The French had

* The chief of these ports were Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, which with some others formed the Hanse League. They traded with Russia and with England, and the spices of the East travelled overland to them from Venice.

† The greatest of her names are those of Bach (1685-1750) and Beethoven (1770-1827).

‡ Of Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria.



Berlin—Imperial Palace in 1750

Augustus Rischgita

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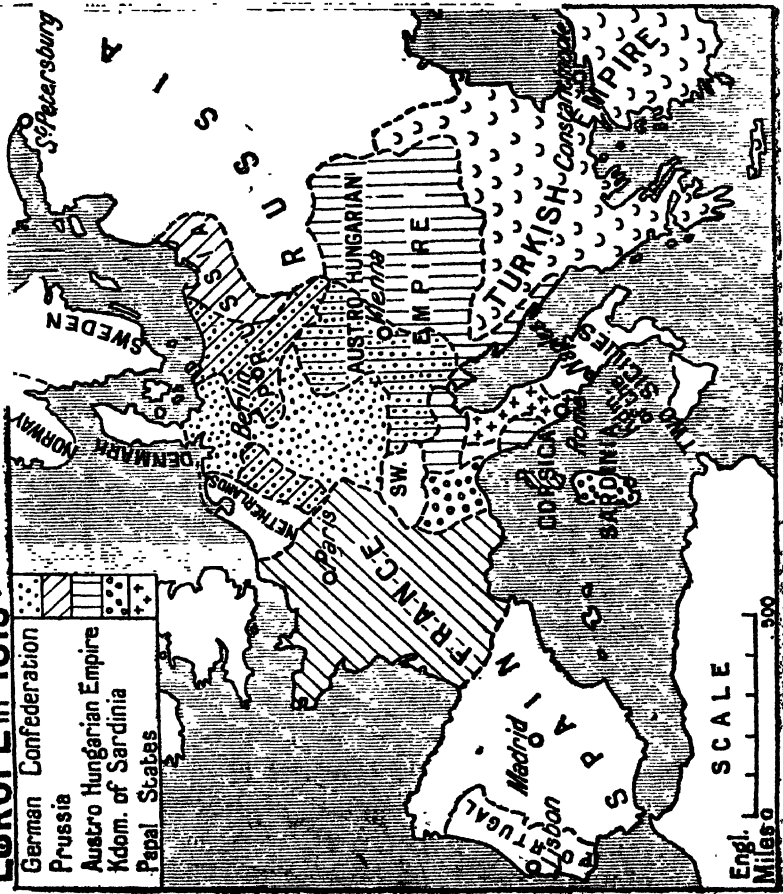
little success till the rise of the great Italian*, Napoleon, who became first their general and afterwards their Emperor. His victories over the Germans are sufficiently well known; they humbled Austria at Austerlitz (1805) and Prussia at Jena (1806). One may wonder that Austria and Prussia did not combine against him; but Frederick's taking of Silesia had embittered the relations of the two countries and it was only very late, after Napoleon's Russian disaster, that they cooperated against their common enemy. By that time both had suffered severely. Napoleon had extended the direct rule of France to the Rhine and even beyond it as far as Hamburg, thus placing millions of Germans under a French government. And Prussia itself, after Jena, he treated with the utmost harshness, exhausting the country by demands for money and supplies and forbidding it to keep more than a very small army.

Now Prussia was by no means feeble or spiritless when Napoleon humbled it. The army had lost the high efficiency of old Frederick's day, but its rulers were able and honest men, and when they saw their mistakes they set to work to redeem them. They invented the idea on which all modern military service is based, the idea of training men for a short period and then passing them on to a reserve. Thus they never had more than a small number under arms at once—in accordance with Napoleon's orders—but they had a large army of trained men in the background, and when the hour came to rise against Napoleon, they were able to bring these men into the field. To arm them was difficult, for the country was exceedingly poor, but everyone showed the greatest self-denial, and by the united efforts of the whole nation practically all its manhood was hurled against the French Emperor. This was the war of Liberation, a period which the whole world has agreed to admire, and it ended finally on the field of Waterloo in the

* Born in Corsica, where the people are Italians who have long been under French rule.

EUROPE in 1815

German Confederation
Prussia
Austro Hungarian Empire
Kdom. of Sardinia
Papal States



joint victory of Prussia and England over the common enemy of Europe (1815).

After this victory the Powers of Europe met in the Congress of Vienna to rearrange the map and secure if possible a generation of peace to succeed a generation of war. In this aim they were not unsuccessful; it was thirty years before the peace of Europe was again disturbed. Nevertheless, the Congress left Europe with many unsettled questions and problems. Unfortunately, they quite refused to recognize what was sensible in the ideas of the great Revolution; nor could they see that some of these ideas had come to stay. They refused to recognise the nationalist idea; they simply went back to the days before the Revolution, and gave each power as far as possible the dominions it then possessed. Accordingly they gave back to Austria its dominions in Italy, including Milan and Venice. They left Poland as it was before the Revolution, when Russia, Prussia and Austria had partitioned it between them. France was confined to the French-speaking people. Prussia gained a good deal of territory in northern Germany, including the great port of Hamburg.

Thus the map was settled and all the leading Powers were more or less contented with their frontiers. But they did not rule over altogether contented subjects. Even those subjects who found themselves under a government of their own nationality had learned something from the French Revolution regarding the "Rights of Man", and they were disposed to claim some political rights from their rulers. They were especially entitled to expect these in Prussia, where the whole nation had worked individually for its own deliverance and the king had actually promised a constitution. The promise however was never kept. The Prussian Government, like all the European Governments, had learned from the Revolution a great horror of political freedom. It retreated further and further from its promises and made itself more absolute. The Prussian Liberals

struggled in vain to make themselves heard: everywhere in Prussia, in all the small German states, and above all in the Empire of Austria, liberalism was suppressed and the King, Prince, or Emperor with his officials maintained an absolute rule. These were very quiet years in Germany, and during them the people of Germany gained the reputation of being a somewhat unwarlike race, whose desires were satisfied if they had beer to drink, music to listen to and not too much oppression to endure from their officials. There were some Germans of whom this description was correct, especially in the southern states of Germany: Hesse, Baden and Bavaria. Since the Thirty Years' War there had not been much life in these states. They had not been moved by any patriotic rage when Napoleon trampled on Austria and Prussia; they had sent him money and troops to help him. This conduct was strangely unlike that of their distant forefathers, and it is a curious thing how the character, or at least the mood, of the Germans seems to have varied at different times. It is still more curious how this peaceful kind of German formed the English idea of a German, English people having forgotten apparently that the Germans for many centuries were the most warlike race in Europe, and Frederick the greatest soldier of his age.

There were other Germans, however, who had not forgotten this at all. They were especially to be found in Prussia, and their leader was the Prussian nobleman, Prince Bismarck (1815 to 1898). He belonged to the landed nobility of Prussia.* In person he was very tall and stout; in his youth at college he was a great duellist and swordsman, and all his life long he was a stern and forcible man. He had a great eye for facts and for men; he knew his own aims and how to attain them, and he cared little if force or fraud were necessary. He used both when he thought the hour had come and he was able to use them successfully. But he

* These are known as the "Junker" of Prussia, a word which means much the same as the English "squire".

was a genuine patriot. It was the aim of his life to make Germany the first power in Europe and to make Prussia the first state in Germany. So far as Germany went he was a nationalist, as much as any of the French revolutionaries. But he had no sympathy with the "Rights of Man". He thought Liberals a mischievous and selfish crowd, who professed to want a united Germany but really only wanted power to molest Government and amuse themselves with fine speeches. Bismarck on the other hand believed that a strong state could only exist under a strong king; that the king ought to be free from popular control and to rule in his own wisdom, supported when necessary by a strong and loyal army. In this we can see something of the earliest German ideas coming to light again.

Bismarck rose into notice (about 1847) when the ideas of the Revolution once more made themselves heard, and many Governments were shaken and many nations made an effort to recover national freedom. The Empire of Austria in particular was threatened by the Hungarians and fierce fighting took place in Hungary. Finally the Austrians were obliged to grant the Hungarians a parliament of their own, and to recognise that the Emperor of Austria held the crown of Hungary by a separate title, as the chosen ruler of the Hungarians. For this reason the realm of Austro-Hungary today is known as the Dual Monarchy. Prussia however passed through this period without change; the royal power was not lessened but increased. Bismarck, the chief minister of the Crown, looked with some contempt on the weakness of Austria, and determined he would make it plain that Prussia and not Austria was the chief state of the German people. Accordingly he picked a quarrel with Austria over the settlement of Schleswig-Holstein, a small district* which Prussia seized from Denmark (1864). The

* It contained both Danes and Germans, and Bismarck seized it in order that these Germans might be under a German Government. Also, it contained the valuable seaport of Kiel, now the headquarters of the German navy.

Austrians still had some dominions in North Germany, and they thought they had a right to be consulted about Schleswig-Holstein. Bismarck refused to admit this; he declared war on Austria, and after a few weeks the Prussian troops crushed the Austrians at Sadowa* (1866). The Austrians were then forced to leave North Germany, all of which passed under the Prussian flag. But Bismarck did not humble Austria too much; he was a far-sighted man and remembered that Prussia might some day want Austria's friendship.

This day soon came. The one great rival of Prussia in Europe at this time was France, then under the rule of Napoleon III. France had recovered from the wars of Napoleon I, and she seemed to have some thoughts of a new attack on Germany. Bismarck welcomed the prospect of this attack. He knew well that the military power of Prussia far exceeded that of France, and he felt sure that if Prussia took the lead in a successful war against France the rest of Germany would accept her as their leader in a new German world. He drew the foolish French Emperor into a quarrel, and a war broke out (1870) in which the French suffered a ruinous defeat. The German armies were led by Moltke, the greatest general since Napoleon, the French by much inferior, one may perhaps say, dishonest men, and, in spite of great courage on the part of the French soldiers, they were utterly beaten. The French Emperor surrendered at Sedan with a hundred thousand men; Paris surrendered after a cruel siege, and the French had to make the best terms they could. Bismarck exacted from them £200,000,000 as a war indemnity, and the two French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, with the fortresses of Metz and Strasburg.

These provinces had been, in the course of ages, sometimes French and sometimes German. The most ancient boundary between France and Germany was the Rhine, but

* The battle at Sadowa is also known as the battle of Königgrätz.

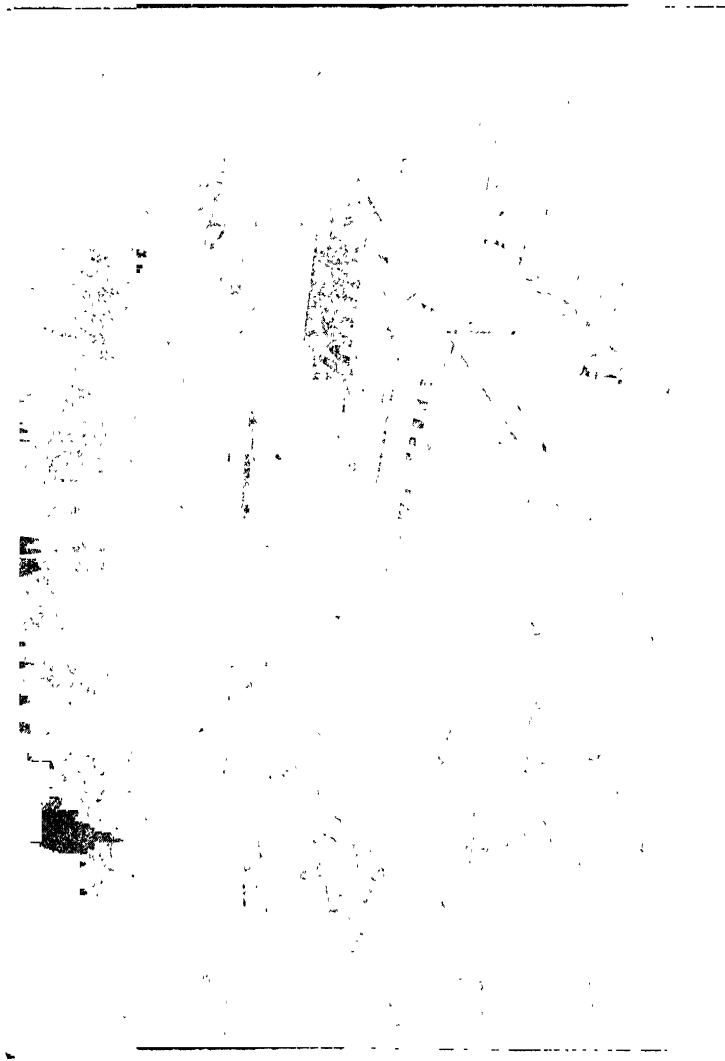
in the Middle Ages the Germans had made good their footing on the west of the river and only in the seventeenth century* did the French take possession of Alsace and Lorraine. In the nineteenth century however, the population had become quite French, and the Germans, in seizing them, offended the feeling which had accompanied the Revolution, the nationalist feeling. All Europe has sympathised with Alsace and Lorraine, which during forty years have never become reconciled to German rule.

The Germans however have never in the least relented, or repented of their action. The year of Sedan is for them a year of great national triumph. Immediately after the victory, the states of North and South Germany agreed to accept the supremacy of Prussia as the leading state of Germany. The Prussian King—then William I—was chosen Emperor of Germany, and arrangements were made for a common government of a German Empire. Under these arrangements the kings of German states, such as Saxony and Bavaria, still occupy their thrones, but imperial affairs (such as the collection of customs) are placed under two assemblies called the Reichstag and the Bundesrath, chosen from the whole Empire. Each state has its own Parliament for local affairs—such as the management of education. Neither the imperial nor any of the local assemblies is as powerful as the British House of Commons or as truly represents the views of the people. The right of declaring war rests personally with the Emperor himself.

The German Empire from end to end (like the Austrian Empire) is ruled by officials who are appointed by the Government. Beyond all doubt these officials are able and honest men and Germany is one of the best-governed countries in the world. All public arrangements† are safe and convenient; the cities are clean and beautiful, and provided with splendid parks and museums. In every

* Under Louis XIV.

† For instance those of the railways, which all belong to Government.



Berlin—General View Showing the Cathedral

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direction the visitor feels that he is moving about among a most practical and vigorous people.

This brings us to a further change that seems to have taken place in the German character. The Germans of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries struck the world as rather unpractical people, fond of music and poetry but not very progressive either in politics or in life generally. Whatever truth there may have been in this, after the victory over France, the whole German people threw themselves into modern practical life. They became a great industrial people. A few of their industries were developed from early beginnings, like the toy industry, which till 1914 supplied the whole of Europe with children's toys. Others again were new industries, such as the iron and steel manufacture, in which the firm of Krupp took the lead, and the great chemical industries.

The success of the Germans in these undertakings was due to more than one cause.

First, to their power for seizing new openings. Thus in the poor soil of Prussia it happens that potatoes and beetroot grow well. The Germans perfected the process of making sugar from beetroot and alcohol from potatoes; these two products they not only used at home but sold profitably to the rest of Europe. Secondly, to their systematic application of knowledge to the process of manufacture. Thus they studied the nature and secrets of coal-tar and from it produced innumerable medicines and dyes. The indigo of India has been driven out of the markets of the world by a blue dye derived by the Germans from coal-tar. Thirdly, to their improvements in machinery, especially in motor engines of all kinds and electrical machines. Fourthly, to their power of organisation. This means the power of training the right men for various stations and of allotting suitable work to each so that each has something he can do.

In all these ways the Germans of recent years have earned the admiration of the whole world. And we may go further and mention here other great achievements of Germany that neither friend nor foe of the country fails to recognise. There have always been many intellectual Germans. All through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when there was little free political life, there was plenty of intellectual life in Germany. There were poets,* philosophers† and historians‡. Later on there were scientific men, leaders in the worlds of chemistry¶, physics and mathematics||. The German Universities contained more scholars and men of science than those of any other country. In the matter of education itself we need only say that Froebel was a German and German schools have been the chief models of America.

Of this wealth of civilization and culture Germany possessed some before her war with France and some she has gained since then. But some spiritual wealth she has also lost. This is perhaps because since that date she has made so much money, and experience has often shown us the spiritual perils of wealth. At any rate Germany is not what she once was, a religious land. She was once the land of Luther, the birth-place of Protestantism, but Luther's religion is little esteemed today in Prussia. It is nominally the religion of North Germany, just as that of Rome is the religion of the South, but worldly interests have taken its place in the minds of common men. The intellectual people of Germany have largely given up Christianity and follow the queer teachings of certain modern philosophers of their own.

The best known of these is one Nietzsche (1844-1900). He proclaimed to the world that Christ was an impostor and a nuisance, who belonged to the lower classes of men and had low ideas of human nature. Thus Christ thought that a mean, humble sort of person, like a slave, was the best kind of man, whereas the best kind of man, said Nietzsche, is

* Goethe (1749—1832). † Kant (1724—1804). ‡ Mommsen (1817—1903). ¶ Liebig (1803—1873). || Helmholtz (1821—1894).

proud and fierce and, above all, strong and able to take whatever he likes from other people. Being able to take this, he has a right to it, for Might is the only Right.

There is nothing new in all this, but Nietzsche had an amusing way of saying it, and it pleased many Germans, because it fitted in with their own feelings. They felt that their great victory over France and their great achievements in commerce and science made them the first race in Europe and they expected the world to recognise this. Many of their own writers told the world as much, and they were never tired of telling it to each other. The chief of these writers was named Treitschke,* and we may almost learn from his pages how the great war of our own days came about, for he did more than any other single man to stir it up.

Before, however, we take up this subject, let us recognise that the war of today does not mean the same thing to all Germans. The old, simple, peace-loving German of a hundred years ago is not yet extinct, and to him the great war is one of self-defence. There is no other sort of war he would care for. His thoughts do not go back to the Germans who fought against Rome, or the Emperors who led Crusades, but to the War of Liberation against France. People of this kind cost Bismarck a great deal of anxiety, for he was afraid they would not willingly fight against France, and to gain their support he had to make it appear that France was attacking Germany.† These same people today believe that Germany is being attacked by England and Russia, and their Government has taken much pains to encourage this belief. But most Germans make no pretences of this kind. We shall presently see what they think and say, but we must understand in the meanwhile that Germany is a divided country with respect to the purposes of this war, and there are

* A professor of history in the University of Berlin from 1874 to 1896.

† It seemed possible at the last moment that the war would not take place, but Bismarck forced it on by a lying telegram, which was indeed most successful and in after years afforded him great pleasure when he looked back on it.

some Germans of whom the worst we can say is that they have made a terrible mistake about their neighbours' intentions. Had Germany been content to stand before the world as a strong, intelligent and patriotic people, defending its ancestral lands and seeking to injure no one outside them, the whole world, we may say, would not have *dared* to assault her.

Now let us see what has really been the purpose and the programme of the forward party in Germany. In books, as we have said, their spokesman is Treitschke, but the views we are going to paint are not his alone. They belong to the Pan-Germanic League, which has been busy spreading them for a whole generation; and they are—perhaps we should say, were in 1914—the views of nearly all the young people of Germany.

These views include of course, like the views of patriots in every land, a most exalted idea of their own civilisation and culture. Thus the German system of imperial and official rule, especially in its extreme Prussian form, is the highest system of government. No other country understands so well the principles of social organisation. Consequently for any other society to pass under German rule is a privilege, whether it be the society of negroes in Africa, of Chinese at Tsingtau or of French in Alsace and Lorraine. It is everywhere the destiny of Germany to teach the world what is meant by civilisation.

Moreover, the Germans themselves are entitled to expand simply because they need to expand and they have the strength to open up for themselves spheres of expansion. There is no longer room in Germany for their countless millions; before them lie various countries full of dead, dying or yet uncivilised peoples: shall Germany refrain from occupying and turning to good use their wasted lands?

If this means war, let war be faced. War is necessary in the life of a nation; it braces the strength of men and teaches

them self-sacrifice for the state. There is no national tonic like a successful war ; so let us have no false pretence about abhorring bloodshed and so forth. It is only the weak or the cowardly who talk in that way. A manly nation will look on war simply as a means towards the end of its own prosperity.

Those who felt and spoke in this way did not include Prince Bismarck. After the war with France his work was over. He had secured for Germany the leading place in Europe ; that was enough for him. He knew well that the vengeance of France would not sleep ; that some coalition between France and other powers was always to be feared, and that Germany's wisest policy was to keep on good terms with them. Colonial possessions he did not covet. With England he had no quarrel. Had his views been followed there would have been no German expansion and no war on the lines of today. But the younger generation, working out his principles in new spheres, pushed him and his guidance aside, and history has taken perhaps the very course which in his heart he feared.

The first author of the change was the present Emperor, William II (born 1859), who was still a young man when he ascended the throne. It was not long before he dismissed his old Chancellor, Bismarck, and since then his policy and principles of government have been entirely his own. Of his character it is difficult to write, especially in a few words, partly because it is many-sided and partly because it is hard to discern. He is a man of courage, confidence, and boundless capacity for work ; somewhat of a dreamer, a patriotic dreamer, fatally blind to everything but a false vision of Germany's destiny. He has however carried most of his people with him, and during the war he has toiled day and night to reward his soldiers with praise and honours and to cheer his people with glowing assurances.

Before the war, his chief personal achievement was the creation of the German fleet. Though Germany since early

times had possessed one or two ports she had never in all her history had a navy. Prussia began by being an inland power and only acquired Hamburg late, and Kiel still later, in her history. Bismarck paid no attention to marine affairs, and interest in them was first aroused by the present Emperor. He may or may not in his early years have associated a fleet with hostility to England, but he certainly began very early to contemplate German colonies and he soon saw that without a fleet Germany's hold on any colonies must be insecure.

The German fleet dates from the first Navy Law (1898), by which a large sum was set apart for building ships. Since then other larger sums have been devoted to this purpose, and when Britain invented the Dreadnought, and all navies had to begin over again, Germany built these vessels almost as fast as ourselves. German crews have been trained to the same professional excellence as our own.

The colonies kept in view by the Emperor and the forward party in Germany are not colonies in the true sense,* but rather tropical possessions. Such possessions are valuable to European countries because they furnish articles necessary for modern life (such as rubber), and perhaps many people in Europe feel vaguely that it is part of the dignity of a modern state to own a share of them. Germany at any rate reached out for a share—"a place in the sun", as someone has called it—and by bargaining, chiefly with England, she got Samoa in the Pacific and portions of East and West Africa. Two other spheres then presented themselves. The first was China. The Chinese having foolishly killed some missionaries, Germany seized the district of Tsingtau in compensation and exacted rights in the province of Shantung which practically made it German territory (1897).

* i.e. places where the people of the mother country can live permanently and multiply.

We may here remark that in these proceedings the Germans showed a certain blindness to national feeling which we have noticed in them before. It does not appear that they really wished to make an enemy of China; the Germans have in fact made her offers of friendship,* but they do not seem to have recognized that their conduct was offensive to the Chinese. Their armies in the field against China were more merciless than those of other nations; the demands they made in Shantung more exorbitant†. Again, their conduct was offensive to the other Powers of Europe, for all the Powers had agreed not to seize any part of China, and Germany first broke this agreement. Finally, they did not perceive how annoying their conduct was to Japan—or perhaps they did not care, imagining falsely that Japan was not strong enough to make it necessary to consider her opinion. German diplomacy has shown itself capable of both mistakes.

The other sphere in which Germany mapped out a future for herself was the Near East. This was the region occupied by Turkey, extending from Constantinople to the Euphrates River. Germany did not propose to take this by violence from Turkey. It is indeed impossible to say exactly what she had in view, but it is probable that she would in the end have maintained Turkey as a vassal state, where German officials played somewhat the same part as British officials do in India today†. But it may be remembered that much of the Turkish Empire that is now desert was once rich and populous; misrule has ruined it, but good government may revive it, and the vision of actual German colonies in the Euphrates valley not improbably crossed many minds.

Finally, some visions of the same kind may have looked forward to German possessions in South America. As it is,

* e.g. they have opened many excellent schools in China—free of charge.

† e.g. where they were granted the right to make a railway they demanded that all the land for ten miles on both sides of it should belong to themselves.

many Germans leave their own crowded cities to work and settle there, and these citizens are lost to the armies of their native land. German politicians are supposed to have thought of recovering them by raising the Black Eagle over some part of Brazil. This would have brought them into conflict with the United States. But any such projects can hardly have passed beyond the stage of dreams—for the plans that Germany had already in hand occupied all her attention and were bringing her into conflict with other powers.

In the first place they were unwelcome to Britain. British feeling towards Germany long continued to be friendly, and Britain placed no difficulties in the way of Germany's acquiring Samoa and her African dominions. British trade grumbled at German competition, but this did not influence Britain's attitude to Germany till Germany on her side unmistakably declared herself the enemy of Britain. This occurred, we may say, during the Boer War (1899 to 1902). It was just before this that the Kaiser sent his famous telegram of sympathy to President Krüger, and during the war the tone of the German press towards Britain was one of passionate hostility. It remains doubtful how far the Kaiser personally shared this: and it seems possible that the Young German party went beyond his views in this matter, but there can be no doubt about the views of the party.

It is England, according to them, which stands in the way of Germany's just ambitions. It is England which seized all the fairest parts of the earth, while Germany was weak and divided. It is England which thwarts Germany in China and Turkey. It is the English fleet which cuts Germany's communications everywhere; England everywhere is the enemy. Germans of this kind do not seem to be sure whether they most of all hate or fear or despise her. They often pour scorn on the English character. They doubt if our soldiers can fight, if our citizens will face the sacrifices of a war.* They search English history from end to end

* This is all written of things as they were before the war began.

and find in it nothing but good luck putting a stupid people in possession of other people's inheritances.

It is doubtful whether these views are those of the Kaiser. He seems indeed to have had some genuine liking for England, and he has always proclaimed himself a friend of peace. We may suppose he has been quite sincere in this profession and yet has never understood what is really meant by peace or a peaceful disposition. The only peace policy he seems to have valued is one in which Germany got everything her own way, while other nations cowered before her. In a famous address to his soldiers setting out to China, he declared it to be the true German's rule if any one crossed his path to strike him with his "mailed fist". The phrase has touched the imagination of mankind and every one in the world who is not a German seems to feel the blow in his own face.

It is some years since Germany began to be aware that the opinion of other nations was stirring against her. She learned it when the first Morocco incident took place. Morocco is a country occupying the north-western corner of Africa, whose relations with Europe have long been chiefly controlled by France. England agreed to recognise this control. The Kaiser promptly landed there himself, interviewed the Sultan and insisted that all Moroccan affairs should be submitted to a Conference at which Germany should be represented. France yielded to this claim; England yielded, and the Conference was held (1905).* The chief object of the Kaiser seems to have been to humble France—for Germany had no interests in Morocco, and some years later, when France and England were better friends, the Kaiser entered on the same scene with the design of humbling France again. He suddenly declared that the French had not kept their promises at the Conference, and on this plea, as a punishment, he seized (in 1911) a port on

* At Algéiras in Spain, from which it takes its name.

† Agadir.

the west coast of Morocco with the intention of making it a coaling station for the German navy. This time again France made peace by a sacrifice. She gave up to Germany some territory in Africa, and Germany gave up the port. But it was everywhere felt that this time Germany had really been beaten; she had not kept the port. Germans at home were very angry and disgusted; it was the first time for a whole generation that Germany had failed to get something she wanted, and she laid the blame upon England, now the declared friend and ally of France.

As for Austria, since her defeat by Prussia she has played no great part in history. The population of her Empire is mixed; and the Germans of Austria, the Hungarians, and the Bohemians, who are Slavs, have had many disagreements with each other, but no war. The Empire as a whole has prospered. It has formed new ambitions: to control the east of the Adriatic and to reach the Aegæan; and Serbia, standing in the way of both these designs, has become an eyesore to the country. Germany has encouraged these ambitions and offered Austria her support if they brought war with Russia in their train. This is indeed what happened, but as we are now approaching the period of the war we may break off our general history of Germany and take up that of the other powers who are fighting.

CHAPTER II

FRANCE, BELGIUM AND ITALY

A. FRANCE

The history of France is known to English people on its English side; they know much less about the history of France in Europe. For a moment we must cast a glance backwards in this direction.

The first inhabitants of France were the Gauls, a people who, like the Germans, more than once invaded Italy, and once captured Rome (B.C. 390). When Rome grew strong

she invaded Gaul in turn (B. C. 58), and conquered the Gauls. The first great Roman to enter the country was Julius Cæsar, who has left us an excellent account of the people. They were short and dark, contrasting in appearance with the tall and fair Germans, but much the same in their civilisation and the same in their love of war.

Among these people the Romans planted firmly their own laws and language and manners, so that Gaul became once and for all a country very different from Germany. When the Roman Empire fell (about 400) and the Germans crossed the Rhine, many Germans, especially Franks, settled in Gaul; the country took its own name from them, and its first rulers were Franks. But these invaders soon learned the Latin language of France and lost their connection with the Germans beyond the Rhine. France passed under native kings (843) and became a united and independent country.

The feudal system was established in France as it was elsewhere, and it had the same consequence of promoting war between rival princes. There was long and bitter war between the House of Burgundy and the French King. The Burgundians allied themselves with the English, and the English with their aid made themselves almost masters of France. However in spite of several great victories they failed to keep their hold on the country; after a hundred years of war (beginning in 1337) it all returned under the French kings. The French kings also managed to control the great nobles of France, so that the country was not for ever torn to pieces by their quarrels, and even at the Reformation she avoided the religious wars of Germany. It is true this was done by driving the Protestants out of France, and France lost in this way many useful citizens who went to strengthen England, but at any rate she did not suffer from anything like the Thirty Years' War. Under Louis XIV (1638 to 1715) she rose to a great height of splendour and led the rest of Europe in art and literature.

Unfortunately Louis XIV grasped at other distinctions, and his reign was one of aggressive and unscrupulous war. He was long successful, against Spain and against Germany, and he only fell when England entered on the scene. Since the Hundred Years' War England and France had not quarrelled; now for the second time they entered on a long period of conflict. This began with the victory of Blenheim (1704), the first check to Louis; it ended with the Peace of Paris (1763). The first object of the war was the defence of Holland against Louis: the English King, William, was a Dutchman. But the war soon became one for foreign possessions. In this respect it closed with the defeat of France; England drove France out of India and remained mistress of the French colonies in America.

These losses and the taxation they caused, with much misgovernment, led to the rising of the French people against the crown known as the Revolution (1789). The French King was seized and killed, and France was placed under a popular government. We must ask ourselves what it was that this Government aimed at, and we shall find that there were two things its friends often spoke of or asked for.

I. The Rights of Man. It is hardly possible even now to say what these words meant to those who invented them or to those who have used them since; much less to say what they ought to mean or what sort of government or laws they sanction. These points are all fiercely debated; we can hardly say they will ever be settled. But at least the "Rights of Man", as the revolutionaries claimed them, included the right of every man to decide who should govern him and by what laws; they excluded the right of any government to rule according to its own views without considering the views of its subjects.

II. The Nationalist idea, that every nation is entitled to rule itself. It is clear that this idea is closely connected with strong views about the Rights of Man, for men choosing

their own rulers are not likely to choose foreigners. One cannot say however that all the French revolutionaries were real friends of the Nationalist idea, as they ought to have been. Many of them, on the contrary, showed themselves as willing to trample on other nations as any absolute kings or emperors. Nevertheless, the spread of the Nationalist idea began with the French Revolution and must be considered part of it.

The French Revolution might perhaps have begun and ended in France. But when it threatened the life and liberty of the French King, the neighbouring kings began to feel alarmed for themselves, and before long they took up arms to help him. The French replied by declaring war with furious energy. They found a general in Napoleon—soon after, they found in him a master—and the Republic disappeared in Napoleon's Empire. (He had no particular right to the title of Emperor but he took it in imitation of the old Roman Emperors and the German Emperors after them.)

Britain was not backward to join in this struggle against Napoleon. The British Government disliked the ideas of the Revolution and as Napoleon's power grew they saw that he meant to crush all nations outside France. Britain was then a very small nation compared with France,* and she could not land huge armies on the continent. Nevertheless, British troops under Wellington drove Napoleon's marshals out of Spain; British money was spent lavishly to help the peoples of Europe, and the British fleets swept the French from the seas. British troops and Germans won the final victory of Waterloo (1815).

This was followed by a century of peace between France and England. It was not always a century of friendship, for the memory of Agincourt and Blenheim and Waterloo did not pass away, and towards the end of the century France and England found new subjects of quarrel. The French had always sought to be the first power in the Mediterranean.

* The population of England in 1801 was 8,000,000, somewhat more than the present population of London.

After their great defeat by Germany (1870-71) and their recovery, they began to extend their influence along its shores. At Constantinople, in Syria, in Egypt, in Algiers the French were either ruling or influential, and it seemed as though the Mediterranean would become a French lake. The first to interfere with this project were the British. Very much against the wishes of the British the French had made the Suez Canal (1869); and the British replied by taking an opportunity to occupy Egypt, so as to control this canal. This caused great bitterness between the two countries and at one time almost led to war.

Meanwhile, however, both began to find they had a common and active enemy in Germany. In France the sore of the lost provinces was always open. German influence at Constantinople threatened all French hopes in Syria. Germany's challenge to England we have dealt with elsewhere. About this time Queen Victoria died (1901) and with her disappeared the old sympathy of the English court for Germany. Edward VII was a friend and admirer of France, and under his guidance the two countries drew closer together. The one great subject that separated them had been the British occupation of Egypt; Britain would not forego this, but terms were arranged that were acceptable to the French and it was agreed that this should be no further subject of quarrel. An agreement was also reached regarding some other points in dispute between the nations, and thus came into existence (1904) the *Entente cordiale* or "good understanding" of England and France. This is a diplomatic name for something short of an alliance that is still an agreement to work together. It is possible that the world does not yet quite know the terms of this agreement, but at any rate it enabled France to concentrate her ships in the Mediterranean and Britain her ships in the North Sea, each side undertaking to some extent to protect the interests of the other in those spheres, and probably it was arranged that each side should support the other if it was attacked by Germany.

B. BELGIUM

The name Belgium is as old as the time of Julius Cæsar, who mentions the Belgians as a tribe of the Gauls. They were conquered by the Romans (B. C. 57) and became part of the Roman Empire and afterwards of the Empire of Charlemagne (800). When that broke up, however, they did not go to France, but to Germany, and eventually became part of the Austrian Empire. Napoleon took the country from Austria and added it to France.

After the wars of Napoleon (1815) the powers of Europe determined to interpose a kingdom between France and Germany, and they formed such a kingdom of Belgium and Holland. The two nations, however, differed too much in speech, religion and even interest to remain united, and eventually (1830) the Belgians declared themselves independent. Their independence was recognised by all the powers, and it was agreed that the country should be neutral (1839). This agreement was not made merely to benefit the Belgians, but to benefit France, England and Germany. For many ages the possession of Belgium had been disputed between France and Germany; it took away a cause of European war if all parties agreed to give up any private designs on the country. England was less interested in these countries at the time, but today even her own interests demand that Germany should not seize the coast immediately opposite her shores.

The population of Belgium before the war was the densest in the world, and there were large manufactures of wool, iron and glass. There was no country where a war was so certain to cause so much immediate misery and loss. Belgium also possessed many fine buildings, some being examples of the best architecture of the Middle Ages, such as the halls and towers of Ypres. These have perished; some few may be restored, but the labour of a generation will not suffice to build again the ruined cities, and recreate the industries of Belgium.

C. ITALY

There is no race of men that is not somewhat mixed in origin, but the people of Italy are without doubt the most mixed, as the Germans are the least mixed, people in Europe.

Long before history begins in Italy, it was the home of a splendid civilisation; * the dawn of history finds it peopled by Gauls in the north, Latins in the centre, and Greeks in the south. Amid these various peoples arose the city of Rome (from 753 B.C.), from the very first the home of many strangers and foreigners; amongst these people was born the Roman character, which created the Roman Empire.

Two or three points in this character we will recall. The Romans were the most practical of mankind. They loved occupation, and saw no reason why a gentleman should not be a farmer or a merchant; and they valued everything which promotes business, comfort, or health. They built roads and drains and bridges and waterworks which even now, after two thousands years, are in good order. They gave their earliest thoughts to law, and all through their history they went on perfecting their legal system. At the same time they were people of indomitable courage, and for a thousand years (from 753 B.C. to about 400 A.D.) seldom finished a war except by final victory over the enemy. They had many enemies, but these mostly came to the same end: they laid down their arms and became citizens of the Roman Empire.

This word "empire" was invented by the Romans, and meant at first simply "rule"; today we use it especially of a rule which embraces many different states and peoples. The Roman Empire stretched everywhere south of the Rhine and the Danube, and west of the Euphrates. Throughout this region the world took its ideas and its laws from Rome; and, in the western part of it, also its language. Gaul, Spain and Italy all spoke a kind of Latin.

* The Etruscan.

In the East the chief language was Greek, and this part of the Roman Empire at last became a separate power (founded 330), with its ruler at Constantinople. After this the old Empire of Rome drew to a close, being battered to pieces by tribe after tribe of German invaders. This destructive age is called the Dark Age of Europe, and it lasted many centuries in Italy (from 400 to 800). During these centuries Italy was more or less under German rule, especially under the rule of Austria, but there were some strong cities that submitted to no one and gave Italy a place of its own in Europe. The chief of these were Genoa and Venice, which had forts and factories all over the Mediterranean and carried on the most lucrative commerce in Europe. Venice indeed never yielded to Austria and was only robbed of its freedom by Napoleon (1797).

All this time it never entered any one's head that there was any reason why Italy should be a free and united country. But with the French Revolution came the Nationalist idea, and the Italians began to apply it to themselves. All through the nineteenth century they moved very slowly and with very much difficulty towards realising it. They had first to find a leader of their own, and at last they found one in the King of Piedmont, but he was by no means strong enough to fight the Austrians, and it was only when the French came to his help (1859) that Italy was able to shake off Austrian rule. After this Rome became once more the capital of Italy (1870).

Italy then struggled along slowly rising in the world, but always poor and always doubtful which of the Powers of Europe was really her friend. The French, when they helped her against Austria, took a slice of Italy on the west* as their own reward, and for this and other reasons the Italians were not exceedingly grateful to France. They were jealous of French progress in Africa. Their old hostility to Austria lived on, because she ruled over Trieste, which is an

* Near Nice.

Italian-speaking country†, but it did not prevent them from forming an alliance with Austria and Germany, called the Triple Alliance. The general object of this was to keep the situation in Central Europe unchanged: its special object, as far as Italy was concerned, was to secure protection against France.

By the time the war broke out, however, things had changed. Italy saw a German Prince in Albania, and it was certain that, if the Germans won, the whole east coast of the Adriatic would become German. Trieste would be for ever lost. There was a strong popular movement in favour of joining in the war, though Italy was a poor country and ill-prepared for the burden it would lay upon her. The Austrians offered her some concessions, but Italy did not feel they could be trusted, and after some months of negotiation she placed herself on the Allies' side.

CHAPTER III

EASTERN EUROPE

A. RUSSIA

The Slavonic languages are spoken in Europe throughout Russia and Poland, in Servia and Bulgaria, in Bohemia and several minor provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They belong to the same group of languages as those of Western Europe, the Aryan group, but the peoples who speak them are different in character from other Europeans and indeed they differ much amongst themselves.

The largest of these peoples is the Russian. Its ancient history is little known to us, and we cannot say if the Russians of today are really descended from those Scythians whom the Greeks and Romans knew very well as dwellers in the great plains beyond the Black Sea. The first people of

† Sometimes called "Italia Irredenta" i.e. "Unredeemed Italy".

Russia who came into notice are the Northmen, whose early home was Scandinavia, and who afterwards conquered England and Northern France. In Russia too they appeared as invaders (about 1000) but they settled in the country and became Christian. Their Christianity they took from Constantinople. Thus they belonged to the Greek branch of the Christian Church, and they never acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Under their rule Russia began to advance in civilisation, and Kiev became its leading city.

Unfortunately it was invaded by Mongolians from Central Asia (1200), who ravaged the land with great severity and ruined its young cities. All the Slavonic countries suffered from this invasion. The first to recover was Poland, but finally Moscow threw off the Mongolians (1480), and from this time Russia slowly rose in power. Its first great monarch was Ivan the Terrible (1533—1584), who lived about the same time as the great rulers of Western Europe, Elizabeth and Charles V, and Suleyman of Turkey. But he had little intercourse with the West; Russia continued an unknown land for many years after him. It saw many fierce struggles among its own tribes and noblemen, and only became a united country under Peter the Great (1689—1725).*

Peter gave it a settled form of government, under which the Czar became an absolute ruler, exercising his power through a body of officials, high and low. He woke up the country from its long sleep, improved agriculture, introduced manufactures and created schools. He built on the Neva the new capital of Petersburg,† where Russia might send forth ships of her own and receive traders from foreign countries, and

* The family name of Peter was Romanoff; the family still rules Russia.

† The name is German in form and means, "Peter's city". (The "St." is a mistake which the West of Europe has made through confusing Peter's own name with that of St. Peter. The Russians always called it "Petersburg".) Since the war the Russian Government have changed the name to Petrograd, which is the true Russian form.

where foreigners might find their way into Russian society. His patriotism saw that Russia compared with the rest of Europe was uncivilised, and he wished to bring refinement and learning into the heart of its life. At the same time he was an active soldier; he crushed Sweden and Poland, hitherto the chief enemies of Russia; and he extended a firm government over the Mongols who still lived in the southern provinces and the Crimea.

After his death his successors made a final end of Poland, dividing up her territory with Prussia and Austria (1772, 1793 and 1795). This brought Russia into the circle of European politics, and she was finally drawn into a war with Napoleon. The world knows well the story of Napoleon's rash invasion, the Russian sacrifice of Moscow, and Napoleon's ruin. Russia remained a power of unshaken strength and for some generations she slowly advanced against Turkey and Persia. She crossed the Caucasus and the complete ruin of Turkey seemed likely, when England and France took up arms against Russia in the Crimean War (1854).

After this, the Russian advance in Europe was checked, and the energies of the country were thrown into Central Asia. Year by year the Khans of Central Asia were overthrown, and Bokhara and Samarcand became Russian cities. At the same time Siberia was claimed and occupied. The first Russians had crossed the Ural Mountains centuries before (1600), but it was only in the nineteenth century that colonists appeared and large towns grew up in Siberia.

If we ask what Russia was seeking, the answer is, not so much land as openings on the sea. The Arctic Ocean is closed by ice most of the year; the North Sea and the Black Sea are both closed by narrow straits under the control of other powers. What Russia desired was a port on the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf or the Yellow Sea. This desire in each case brought her into conflict with some hostile power; with Turkey, Britain, and finally Japan. When

Russia, after resigning her plans against Constantinople and Persia, founded Port Arthur and Dalny, it was only to find that a new enemy confronted her. The valour of this enemy and the difficulty of fighting so far from her own sources of strength brought about her defeat and left her once more unsatisfied (1905).

Naturally enough, the Russian advance in Asia led to jealousy with Britain, and for many years at the close of the nineteenth century war between these countries seemed inevitable. One of the circumstances that after all prevented it was the sudden rise and ambitious designs of Germany. It has long been clear that German hopes are set on an Empire in the Near East. This meant a Russian conflict with Germany in Asia Minor, and there were other circumstances that threatened conflict in Europe also.

It has been the lot of the Slavonic peoples many times to have been vanquished in battle, so much so that the very word Slav became a name for a prisoner or slave and many of the Slavonic peoples are subject-races today. Especially, of course, the Poles are such; there are Slavonic races* under Austria; and Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumania have only lately escaped from Turkey. The Russians feel themselves bound to these peoples by strong sympathies, and they have seen with alarm that German views threatened some of them with political subjection. The Serbians, for instance, stand between Austria and the Aegean Sea, and it is certain that Germany and Austria were covetous of their tract of territory.

Now Russia is a large country, and her population enormous, but she is poor, backward in all science, and as far as armies go no match for Germany. It became clear to the Russian Government some years ago that she could not stand alone against Germany. She was already an ally of France, but her interests pointed to a further alliance with Britain, which was also threatened by German advances. It was soon found that British and Russian interests in Asia

* e. g. the Czechs of Bohemia.

admitted of a reconciliation (1907). Britain had no designs on Siberia, and Russia had scope enough there to occupy all her energies. Some agreement about Persia was the one thing necessary and that agreement was formed. Persia was to remain politically independent, but in matters of trade the northern half was to be under the control of Russia, the southern half under that of Britain.

We are thus brought to the period of the war, into which Russia was forced by the Austrian attack on Serbia. If she stood by and saw Serbia crushed she would be confessing that she was powerless to defend the Slav world. The pride of the whole nation refused to admit this, and the Government and the people found themselves united against the German Empires.

B. POLAND

The history of Poland is of little interest or importance in the general history of Europe, though the Poles are a distinct people and might with more wisdom have played a greater part in the world. We hear little of them till the Middle Ages, when a Polish kingdom gradually formed itself between Prussia and Russia, with many large and prosperous towns. The chief of these were Dantzic, Warsaw, and Cracow, which now belong to Prussia, Russia, and Austria respectively. The time of its greatest prosperity was that of the English king, Henry VIII, just before the rise of Russia.

While Russia passed under the central government of a strong Czar, Poland was torn to pieces by turbulent nobles; she became unable to defend herself and finally she was partitioned among her powerful neighbours (1795). Much the largest part of her territory went to Russia.

Both Russia and Prussia have found their Polish subjects a hard problem. They have tried to make them Russians and Prussians. But too many differences divide them from their masters. The Polish language is neither German nor Russian;

the Polish religion is neither Protestant nor Greek Christianity but Roman Catholic. All through the nineteenth century there were Polish movements against their rulers, which were put down with great severity. In the present war the Poles have no great cause to take either side, and as a matter of fact there are Poles fighting on each. In Russia, however, of late years, there has been a slow movement towards free and popular government, which promises something for the Poles. And the Czar has proclaimed that in the event of victory the whole of Poland will be recreated a self-governing province, including what is now Prussian and Austrian Poland.

C. TURKEY

The visitor to Turkey today will find himself much puzzled as to who the Turks really are. In appearance they are like other Europeans, with florid complexions and features more European than Asiatic. It is possible that the race has changed its features in the last few centuries, but it is also possible that the first Turks were quite like their successors. In that case we must distinguish them from the Mongolian peoples who overran Russia and entered India. The Turks were probably cousins of the Magyars, but the Magyars became Christians, while the Turks were already Mohammedans when they entered Europe.

The Ottoman or Osmanli Turks came originally from the banks of the Amu Darya or Oxus River and gradually conquered Asia Minor. Later they crossed the Bosphorus and took Constantinople or Byzantium (1453), and swept rapidly over the whole peninsula south of the Danube. Their greatest ruler was Suleyman (1520-1566), who crushed the Hungarians, and only just failed to take Vienna. In his day the Turks were irresistible by sea and land, and the whole of the Near East owned their rule. The history of the ages that follow is one of slow, continuous decline, with bloody wars and many Turkish victories, which, however, never confirmed the

Turkish power. Her chief enemy was first Austria and afterwards Russia. Greece was the first part of her dominions to be lost, and it seemed as though the Turkish Empire must fall to pieces, when a halt took place. In the middle of the nineteenth century France and England, alarmed at the growth of Russian power, came to the rescue of Turkey (1854), and she had an opportunity of becoming a modern nation, as Russia became under Peter the Great. This opportunity she did not take, and the Slav States under her rule grew more and more discontented. Russia came to their help (1877), and finally Serbia, Bulgaria and Roumania all became independent powers.

Throughout all this period the absolute rule of the Sultan continued unchanged, but a few years ago the Young Turks forced upon Abdul Hamid a revolution and a constitution (1908). There was no doubt about the earnestness of their purpose, but they quarrelled with each other and the army, and the progress in sight was arrested. The new Government failed to deal with the problem of Macedonia, where there was constant war between the Greek and the Turkish inhabitants and constantly growing misery. Finally the Balkan States attacked Turkey (1912), and in a bloody war tore her to the ground. Turkey recovered peace with the loss of almost everything in Europe but Constantinople.

In the meantime the German Government at Berlin had persuaded Turkey to accept their friendship and their counsel. In the middle of the nineteenth century the chief friend of Turkey for many years was Britain, but the British occupation of Egypt (1882) set Turkish feeling against Britain, and the Turks listened to German promises of revenge. German officers were borrowed to organise the Turkish army, German capital began to construct railways in the Euphrates valley. It is clear what the Germans expected from this alliance; it is not so clear what the Turks expected or were promised. The really urgent need for Turkey was to set her own house in

order and avoid engagements with any European Power. This programme she refused to accept, and after the outbreak of the present war she threw in her lot with Germany.

D. THE BALKAN STATES

The most interesting of these are Bulgaria and Serbia, which have stood side by side unreconciled for centuries. Both were parts of the old Roman Empire. Both were invaded when the empire fell, and became seats of barbarian power. Both had their days of dignity and even empires of their own. That of Bulgaria was in the tenth century, that of Serbia in the fourteenth century. The arrival of the Turks was fatal to both races, and both passed for many years into slavery.

From this the Serbians escaped after a long struggle, which lasted throughout the nineteenth century. Their freedom was finally secured after the Russo-Turkish war (1877), which also set free Bulgaria. Both countries owed much to Russia, but both countries objected to any sort of Russian rule, and there has been at times much unfriendliness between them and Russia. The last chapter in their history was their alliance, and their war with Turkey on behalf of Macedonia, followed by a sudden outburst of their own ancient rivalry. This led to desperate fighting among themselves, in which Bulgaria, finally defeated, had to accept very unfavourable terms (1913).

But neither did Serbia stand where she wished. The Austrians insisted that the country to the west of her, Albania, should be treated as independent, and given a German king of its own. This cut off Serbia from the sea, and left her stripped of many Serbians that live in Albania and would willingly become her subjects. At the same time Serbia had to see many thousands of Serbians under Austrian rule in Bosnia. This position gave rise to great bitterness in Serbia: it was a Serbian that assassinated the Crown Prince of Austria and kindled the war.

In the hour of Bulgaria's humiliation the Germans seem to have approached her with whispers of revenge, and when the war broke out they invited Bulgaria to invade Serbia. The Bulgarians waited a little to see how events would go, and after the Russian defeats in the summer of 1915 they decided that the time had come for action and they cooperated with the Austrians in the fatal invasion of Serbia.

The Roumanians escaped from Turkish rule much earlier than their neighbours (1828), and afterwards made steady progress in national prosperity. They had indeed only one reason to be dissatisfied, namely that in Transylvania there were many kinsmen of theirs who were subject to the Hungarians. On the outbreak of war they saw a chance to unite these to their own state, but they remained long in doubt as to the wisdom of joining in the great struggle. In the late summer of 1916 they threw in their lot with the Allies.

E. GREECE

Greece owes her freedom from Turkey to Britain and France, who fought for Greece both by sea and land in the early part of the nineteenth century. These same Powers have since protected her and left her to choose her own King from the royal families of Europe. The present King is a Dane, with a German wife, and during the war he has done everything possible to place Greece on the German side. In this he has been opposed by a Greek statesman, Venezelos, and Greece has long been on the verge of civil war between the Nationalist and the Royalist parties. Some of the Nationalist party are now fighting as volunteers for the Allies, but they have many enemies in Greece and the Allies have landed soldiers in Athens to protect them—and to protect themselves.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

No Englishman will deny that in the long history of England there have been chapters of aggressive warfare. The Saxons, Danes and Normans, from whom the English are descended, were all warlike races, and when they found themselves united as one nation under one government their first impulse was to draw the sword against their neighbours. From this impulse came the Hundred Years' War (beginning 1337), which aimed at an English empire in France. There was some pretence that the English King had a claim by birth to the crown of France, but probably the soldiers of the Black Prince thought their cause rested more on their swords than on the arguments of lawyers.

In any case, these designs of England came to nothing, and the Wars of the Roses (1455 to 1485) occupied and exhausted the soldiers of England for a third of a century. In the age that followed, England challenged the trade of Portugal and the Empire of Spain. The Spanish Empire, in Central and South America, enriched Spain with the gold and silver of its mines; the first idea of the English was to capture the Spanish ships and seize their treasure. Later on the idea of colonising America presented itself, and the settlement of Virginia (1607) marks the beginning of a new age in the world's history. Here the English first landed, not, like the Spaniards, to fight and plunder and return to their native land, but to cultivate the ground and make a new home.

If we lay aside the question of the Red Man's* rights, they injured no one in this enterprise; they and their successors deserve all our admiration for their perseverance and courage.

The chief nation that followed them in America was the French. The French colonies lay north of the British,

* The natives of North America were not red in colour but dark brown; the phrase however (the origin of which is unknown) has become a usual term for them.

beyond the St. Lawrence, and a quarrel broke out between the two nations when the French began to move south; it seemed as though the French would cut the British off from the interior. Just about this time it happened that the French and English became enemies in Europe, and though this enmity did not arise over colonial questions the British Government woke up to the value of colonies sooner than the French, and when peace was made the French colonies in North America were appropriated by England (1763).

In the old world, curiously, England's American policy was that which the Portuguese followed; it was they who tried to make India a colony. The British seem from the first to have recognised that they could not settle in the tropics; they could only visit the country as traders. It was their object therefore to establish forts and factories and to make trade agreements with Eastern kings. Their chief rivals in this were not the Portuguese but the French and the Dutch. The French met them in India and the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago.

In the contest between the Dutch and the English, the Dutch got the best of it, chiefly because the English were so busy in India. Here at one time they were nearly lost. A French general, Dupleix (1697 to 1763), seeing the weakness of scattered forts and factories, set out to establish a regular French Government on a large scale with a territory of its own. If the French at home had supported him he might have created a French empire, but his plans failed and he was not supported. Clive (1725 to 1774), on the English side, accomplished what Dupleix had intended. The Company became a ruling power.

Then followed the loss of the colonies in North America (1783). They were lost because the British Government wished to govern and tax them from England. There was nothing unreasonable about this, if we look at the ideas of the past; but statesmen have to look to the future rather than the past, and the British Government might have

seen that the colonies would not tolerate an absolute rule from Great Britain. Since they did not see this they learned it on the battle-field, and the lesson has not been forgotten.

Not long after the loss of these colonies, British settlers sailed to Australia (1787). The country was open to the world, and the French certainly were thinking about occupying it, but the English were first in the field, and by the general consent of the world Australia flies the British flag. So too does New Zealand—occupied by British settlers (about 1814) long before the British flag was raised there.

In Africa, Cape Colony was taken from the Dutch (1814) while they were allies of Napoleon. The rest of Africa was divided much later (about 1890) among all the Great Powers. By this time the value of tropical possessions was realised, and no European power was content to forego them. But the last to aspire after such things was Germany, and it was not till a few years ago that Germany set up any claims in Africa. The British attitude to these claims was quite liberal, as you will realise if you look and see how the boundary line of German East Africa curves outwards so as to include Mount Kilimanjaro.

We shall not deny that some grasping actions of England may be pointed out in the earlier part of this long story. It was a harsh action that appropriated all the French Colonies in North America and took the Cape from the Dutch. But if we examine the conduct of the Dutch and French Governments in the same age we shall find that Britain was not worse in principle than they, but only more successful. And we shall find with a little further reading of history that no nation has taken less in the hour of victory than Britain and no nation has ever given so much back. We gave back, for instance, the island of Java to Holland (1818).* It is now the chief glory of the Dutch Colonial Empire.

* It was taken, like the Cape, during the wars with Napoleon.

After all, the most important question about Britain's place in the world is the treatment measured out to her subjects and the use she has made of her imperial power. We may apply to this the test of her subjects' fidelity, and if we condemn her government of the American colonies because the colonies revolted, then we must notice how at the same time the French colonies north of the St. Lawrence remained faithful to her. There was a later period when they too rebelled, but the rebellion (1837) was met by patient enquiry rather than by crushing force, grievances were met by reasonable concessions, and French Canada is now a loyal part of the Britain over the seas.

This constitutes the first point in defence of the British Empire, that if it was won by force it has not been retained by force. Now every state must sometimes use force, but it is the object of good government to carry its subjects with it by conviction. This must be a difficult task where a great empire has subjects of many races, divided by sympathy and interest; but the British Empire has long set itself to face this task. It respects the Nationalist idea and the feelings of nations, whatever people of extreme views may say.

Moreover, the British Empire has not been administered in the interests of Britain alone. It has been a Free Trade empire (from 1846 onwards). We shall not discuss here whether Free Trade is right or wrong as a matter of pecuniary profit, we shall look rather at the spiritual side of the idea. Free Trade is a system of competition, the effort of every man to produce the best possible article and to triumph on the ground of merit alone. The British merchants of the nineteenth century desired no other triumph and scorned the idea that they needed protection to meet their rivals. If their rivals beat them they did not grudge a victory fairly earned. This was what they meant by competition.

It was a system closely allied, both in their thoughts and in the facts of life, with peace. The British Empire was open

to anyone who entered it in the name of peace as a merchant or manufacturer. He had no dues to pay, no regulations to comply with; the door was open to everybody. Indeed, had Britain pursued any other policy, the world would not have tolerated her supremacy so long, and she would have had to fight a combination like that now in arms against Germany. Where the German flag flies, the foreigner is not wanted. An empire on these lines must needs be a military empire, but Britain of the nineteenth century for two generations reduced. its navy and army almost out of existence. This state of things could not last, but it grew out of a true aspiration, which deserves our respect. We must only regret nowadays that we cannot salute commerce in Tennyson's words as "the fair white-winged peacemaker" of the world.

Lastly, we may notice that if any power had a right to feel aggrieved by the existence of the British Empire it was surely not Germany. France has found her path many times crossed by England; Germany, never. English merchants may sometimes have grumbled at Germany's rise, finding their goods undersold and their markets captured, but England has never thwarted a single national aspiration of Germany. There is no place on the map where you can put your finger and say, "Here England turned Germany back".*

* Except perhaps in the Persian Gulf. The Germans wished to make a railway along the Euphrates valley through Baghdad to the sea, but the British Government insisted that the terminus must be in British hands.

PART II THE PRESENT

CHAPTER V

THE CRISIS

We have shown how many jealousies divided the states of Europe at the opening of the present century : we shall now see how the crisis came and the open conflict burst out.

There is a sense in which it has been welcome to everybody's feelings. Everybody has felt that the state of armed preparation in Europe was almost as great an evil as war. Its expense was probably one cause of that rise in prices which irritated the world, and the burden it inflicted on the young men of Europe was most severe. In every case for one year, in most cases for two years, they had to leave their work and their homes to train for the army, leading the hard and often degrading life of the barrack-room, which is sometimes most injurious to the best men. In many minds there began to be a doubt whether downright war was not better than such peace.

Every nation had some reasons for thinking that the struggle would be more in its favour if it began at once. England saw that the German fleet was growing and the burden of outbuilding it was growing. She felt herself threatened with invasion, and with the hateful necessity of compulsory military service. France saw her population declining and that of Germany rising by millions every year. Germany saw England, France and Russia drawing steadily together, and threatening her with an alliance which even her numbers and wealth might have reason to fear.

Since France had no chance of maintaining an army as large as that of Germany she decided to have a better one,

and in 1914 she made the period of service with the colours three years. Germany did not inflict the same dreadful burden on her young men, but she increased her standing army (1914) by a quarter of a million and she began to create a war-fund by means of a special property tax. We cannot say for certain that she meant to strike in the year 1914, but it is certain that she was ready to do so if a good opportunity offered.

The opportunity came in a tempting form. The Crown, Prince of Austria was murdered in Sarajevo (June 28, 1914) by a young Serbian (a subject of Austria). The world cannot yet be sure if high officials in Serbia took any part in the crime, but the Austrian Government asserted that they had done so and no doubt the German people in Austria and everywhere else believed this. A note was sent to Serbia (July 23, 1914) demanding that she should punish certain officials whom the Austrian Government blamed and that Austrian officials should have full power to make enquiries in Serbia and to punish any one they found guilty by word or deed of attacking Austria. Only a few hours were given to Serbia to reply to this note and she was told that if she hesitated to accept the smallest point of it the result would be war.

As soon as the note was published the world at once recognised that the object in view was not to punish the murderers of the Crown Prince but to extinguish Serbia. The Russian Government at once intimated that it would not permit this, and indeed, if it had done so, it would have been despised not only by the Germans but by the rest of mankind. Whatever the war cost Russia, she was bound to face it. Russia however, alone among the Powers, had good reasons for wanting to put off war. Her army had not recovered from the Japanese war; she had few or no heavy guns. So she advised Serbia to endure everything save the presence of Austrian officials in Serbia, and the Serbians accordingly sent a reply to Austria accepting all their terms but this.

The Austrians answered briefly that they considered this the chief point, and they immediately set their armies in motion against Serbia.

In the meantime all the powers of Europe recognised that the crisis had now come. The great question was, what would Germany do. Germany however remained very silent. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, proposed a conference of ambassadors to arrange terms, but Germany would not agree to this. What passed between Germany and Austria of course we do not know, but certainly Germany never urged Austria to accept Serbia's humble and almost complete submission to her note. To the world Germany remained silent. What she wanted was to see Austria attack Serbia on the plea of punishing a murderer, and Russia attack Austria apparently to defend a murderer; Germany could then advance to support at once the cause of justice and German interests, and all the world except her own enemies would be with her.

Unfortunately this scheme did not quite succeed. It was recognised everywhere that Austria was using the situation unfairly, and it was everywhere believed, in spite of German denials, that the German Government saw the Austrian note before the Austrians presented it. The aggressive character of the coming war was fully understood. It was a definite move on the part of the Germans towards the Near East.

At the last moment questions arose as to the mobilisation of the various armies, especially of Germany and Russia. Each side accused the other of being the first to move its troops. It is certain however that Germany began to summon her reservists back to Germany long before the war broke out, that her military preparations were far ahead of those of other powers, and finally that she struck the first blow of the war. In the South the Austrians moved upon Serbia, in the North the Prussians entered Belgium.

The position of France in the war was certain; she was bound by treaty to assist Russia. The position of England was not so certain. England would not have gone to war to protect Serbia; nor was she obliged to help France unless France was attacked by Germany. This was not the case; on the contrary France was attacking Germany to help Russia. England had thus a good excuse for remaining neutral, had she wished. This might have been unwise; it might even have been unfair to France: but England would have broken no actual promise if she had refused to fight. The Liberal Government was by no means warlike in disposition. The Germans offered, if England remained neutral, to spare French shipping and French territory in Europe. But one thing they refused to concede, the neutrality of Belgium.

All the European Powers had long agreed (since 1839) not to make Belgium the scene of war. They had agreed to defend her from invasion by any one of them; and Germany had not only signed this agreement when first it was made but had expressly renewed her promises to Belgium in recent years. Now she suddenly informed Belgium that she would not respect this agreement but intended to pass through Belgium to attack France. The Belgian railways would be expected to transport German soldiers and the Belgian Government to assist Germany in various other ways. The choice for Belgium was a very hard one. The French were kinsmen of their own, and they were called upon to help in their destruction. The alternative offered was their own destruction. On them first would fall the great German army, before which Europe trembled, and if Germany won they would become a conquered province of the Kaiser, another Alsace. Immediate help there was none, for their decision must be taken in a few hours, and every one knew that France was not ready.

To their eternal credit, the people of Belgium never wavered. They flew to arms, and their deeds and their fate

we have told in another place. But here we observe that Germany's dealings with Belgium settled the action of Britain. The British Government considered itself bound to support Belgium, and the sentiment of the whole British nation followed them. It was felt that though we could not protect Belgium we could at least rescue and avenge her.

There must be many things which the Germans now regret in their conduct at the fateful hour and many mistakes which they admit to themselves. They offended Italy by opening the war without consulting her. They miscalculated the action of Great Britain—not seeing that the attack on Belgium was the one thing which was certain to bring Britain into the war. They expected rebellions in every part of the British Empire because they listened everywhere only to the discontented and unreasonable among the subjects of Great Britain. They did not expect the united and desperate resistance of Belgium.

It is interesting to observe these mistakes, because the Germans had not neglected preparations for war nor omitted to enquire into their enemies' resources. Their information about the arms and the armies of the world was perfect. But their information about human feelings and character was wrong.

CHAPTER VI

A. MODERN ARMS AND WARFARE'

It is a curious thing that no good history of arms and warfare has ever been written, even by a German historian. Perhaps the subject is too large. Every great fighting race has had its own weapons, and these have varied from age to age.

The subject of warfare falls into the two branches of strategy and tactics. Strategy is the art of moving troops so as to fight battles in favourable positions; tactics is the art of fighting battles.

The general rules of strategy have been the same in all ages; to move quickly, to move secretly, to concentrate troops in numbers superior to those of the enemy—these have always been the objects of generals. But the generals of earlier days had to move their troops by road; troops can now be moved by railway. The railways of Europe have partly been laid down with a view to moving troops, and the speed of the German attack on Belgium was due to their excellent system of railways converging on the Belgian frontier. They were built for this attack, and the Germans for many years had kept all their old engines ready for use in the hour of war.

Railway trains are now supplemented by motor-cars, and in the present war many troops have been moved, and almost all have been fed, by motor conveyances.

Even more than the strategy, the tactics of modern times have changed. In the early nineteenth century the troops were armed with muskets, which were loaded with gunpowder and discharged a round, leaden bullet. These were of little use at more than a hundred yards, and thus men soon came to close quarters, where they fought with the bayonet. Men defending a position had not much advantage over an attack, however strong the position was.

The cannons of those days, like the muskets, were loaded from the muzzle, and fired round, solid, iron balls. Their range was not great and they seem to have frightened soldiers more than they need have done.

Today these weapons have all been much changed. The musket has become a rifle*, a breech-loader, and finally it carries a magazine of cartridges. It can fire five rounds in twenty seconds; it can be aimed accurately at a man as far away as he can be seen. A single rifle however is nothing beside the machine rifle, which showers bullets in a continuous stream, like water running out of a hose-pipe. These engines work unseen. The old gunpowder, of saltpetre and charcoal,

* This can only be understood by looking at one.

has given place to new explosives, which are largely made of nitric acid and glycerine; they are far more powerful, and they are smokeless. It is thus possible for troops to rain bullets on the enemy unseen, and deadly battles have actually occurred in which neither side has caught sight of the other.

This has given a great advantage to the defence, for the attacking party are under fire for a long time before they reach the enemy, and they are visible as they advance, while the enemy are concealed. For this reason both sides have made many attacks at night; but they have not hesitated also to attack by day, and they have sacrificed great bodies of men in the hope of wearing down the defence.

Defence nowadays means entrenchments. Modern weapons are so deadly that soldiers cannot afford to expose themselves; accordingly, even in the open field of battle, when there is any pause in the fighting, the soldiers at once dig little trenches for themselves. Every soldier carries a small spade for this purpose. When troops mean to hold a position for some time, especially if they are weak in numbers, they make these trenches very deep and roof them overhead, and protect them in front with entanglements of barbed wire. Before infantry can advance against such entrenchments it is necessary to search them thoroughly with artillery fire.

The artillery of modern times has been developed as much as the old musket. The guns are all breech-loaders; their range is at least three miles, and they can be aimed so as to hit anything that can be seen. The old cannon-ball is extinct; the shot is always some kind of shell. This is a hollow case with an explosive inside it. As a rule it bursts when it hits anything, but shells can also be made to explode after a given number of seconds so that they burst in the air. Shells of this kind are generally shrapnel shells, or shells filled with bullets, which are scattered when the shell bursts. Such shells are especially used to explode above entrenchments; the bullets are driven straight downwards into the trenches.

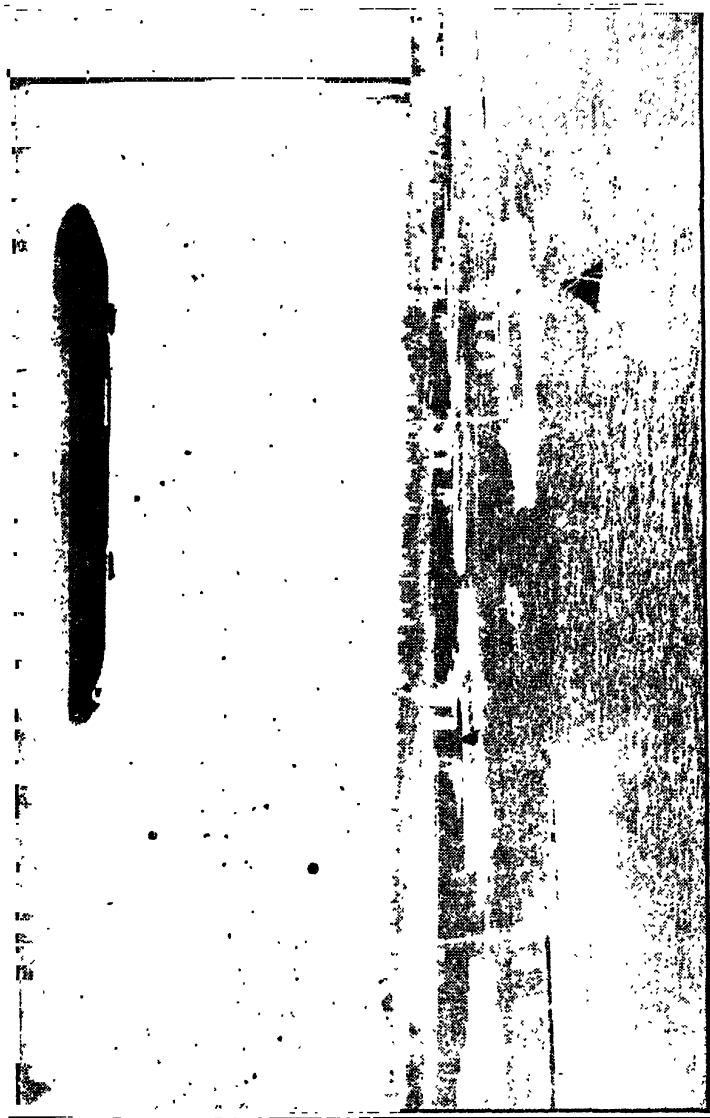


French Soldiers Firing a Machine-gun from a Trench
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These shells are not used against fortresses. Fortresses are buildings of great strength and thickness where the troops can take refuge, and their use plays an important part in strategy. When, for instance, troops are invading a country, if the defenders are weak they may retire into their fortresses, and the invaders must then stop to take these places. They dare not leave them behind untaken, as the defenders may sally out and destroy their own communications and cut off their supplies. Now the French, after their defeat by the Germans (1870), knowing their own weakness, prepared a line of fortresses along their frontier. The Belgians also had strong fortresses, and many people thought the Germans would be delayed a long time by these.

The Germans, however, had their plans ready and they brought into the field enormous howitzers or mortars. These are guns that fire a shell very high in the air, so that it descends straight on the roof of a fortification, with a huge weight of metal and a huge explosive inside it. The Belgian fortifications had roofs of steel and concrete many feet thick, but a few of these shells shattered them to fragments. They were aimed at them ten miles away, by the aid of accurate maps, and their own guns could do nothing against them. These great howitzers of the Germans and the machinery by which they were brought into the field were one of their secrets. Fortunately the French had not many of their troops locked up in fortresses, but some few they had, and these are now prisoners in Germany.

Another new feature of this war has been the fourth arm—the air-ships. There are two kinds of them, aeroplanes and Zeppelins. Aeroplanes are used by all the powers, Zeppelins by Germany alone. Zeppelins are named after the Count who invented them. Each one is really a row of balloons tied together and enclosed in a case, which has a car slung beneath it. The balloons raise it above the earth, but it is propelled by a fan, which is worked by an engine. It can



A Zeppelin and Warships at Kiel

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travel a thousand miles in a day and carry several passengers and several tons of explosives. The German plan was to send these monsters to blow up London and Paris, but so far the plan has not succeeded. The Zeppelins are liable to many accidents, and may be damaged by aeroplanes. These have given a better account of themselves. They have chiefly been used for bringing information about the movements of the enemy's troops. The flying men on both sides have shown the greatest skill and courage, but we can claim that the British have shown them in the way of fair war, while the enemy have not. British aircraft have dropped no bombs on German villages, but they have attacked strong fortified places on Lake Constance and the North Sea, which were able to receive them with gunfire. They have come back safe however, after voyages of hundreds of miles in the air.

The engagements in the air have in some ways brought back the most ancient days of warfare, for they have given an opening for individual prowess like that of the epic heroes. Individual airmen on both sides have made themselves names for daring and skill and have driven hostile machines from the sky as the ancient heroes drove their foes from the field.

Naval warfare has changed no less than war by land. In Nelson's day it was a simple affair compared with what it is now. The old captain had his own problems: to find his enemy, to get to the windward of him;* but, when he had done this, his sailors had only to load the old guns and point them at the enemy's hull, a few yards off, and go on banging and blazing away.

A modern captain has to manage one of the most delicate machines in the world amid dangers above, below, and around him. The modern warship is meant, as its end and function, to carry huge guns. With them it can destroy hostile

* Because the ship on the windward side could sail towards the enemy or away from him as she pleased.

battleships, or hostile forts—it is itself a sort of floating fort. Its guns are sometimes as large as thirteen or even fifteen inches in diameter, and their shells, weighing several hundred-weight each, can be thrown with accuracy over ten miles. These guns are moved by machinery, their shells are lifted into them by machinery, in fact every movement throughout the ship is effected by machinery, and the whole vast interior is full of mechanism as delicate as that of a watch.

All this mechanism has to be strong as well as delicate, for the shock when the great guns are fired is enormous, and above all the hull of the ship must be strong, to carry these great guns and to protect them. It is built of steel many inches thick and harder than the fabled adamant of ancient days.

The largest of these ships are the Dreadnoughts, so called from the first of the kind that was built. Their special feature is that they carry nothing but guns of the largest size. Only a little smaller are the battle-cruisers, which differ from the Dreadnoughts in their higher speed—reaching thirty miles an hour.

The profession of war on board of these ships is a calling for which the practice of a lifetime is needed, and all hands in the Royal Navy now enter as boys. In Nelson's day any sailor could make a Jack Tar; it is not so now. The sailors of the Royal Navy are the men whom it is most difficult to replace when they are lost, and for this reason losses in the Navy are more serious than others.

Wireless telegraphy has made a great difference in naval strategy, for it enables all the ships in the navy to know exactly where each of the others is, and it enables the admiral to direct all their movements together, and to keep in touch with his own Government ashore. The Germans have used wireless telegraphy in combination with the Zeppelins, which from their station in the sky can survey a vast expanse of sea.

The battleship has many enemies besides the guns of the hostile fleet. It is now some years since the torpedo was invented. This, in its present form, is a long case shaped like a cigar, with a charge of high explosives inside it, and a screw at the end that puts it in motion under the water. This screw is worked by a little engine run by compressed air, so that a torpedo once started becomes a little ship moving by itself. It is fired out of a tube in the side of a torpedo boat. A single torpedo, if it strikes a Dreadnought, makes so vast a rent in its bottom that the ship may sink in a few minutes. Torpedo-boats are therefore much dreaded by battleships; they are small and very fast and difficult to hit as they draw near. To drive them off, "destroyers" are employed, boats slightly larger than torpedo-boats, which can steam up to forty miles an hour. These carry one or two powerful guns, and a screen of them moves in front of a battleship to clear the way.

The destroyers however cannot protect the battleships from aeroplanes, nor from submarines. The submarine vessel is of later date than the torpedo; it was thought of long ago, but there were great difficulties in the way of making it a practical success. It is simply a small vessel which can be completely closed and partially filled with water; it then sinks below the surface and can still move by means of its own engines. These are run by petrol motors. The object of the submarine is to approach a battleship unseen and torpedo it. But one of its many difficulties is that it cannot see its way under water, and it has to rise to the surface, at least so far as to put its periscope out of water. The periscope is a small case with a prism in it which reflects the surrounding scene into the hull of the submarine. Small as it is, it is enough to tell the men on the battleship where the submarine is lurking, if only they can see it.

On the whole submarines have not done so much harm as was expected by naval men, nor even have mines. These last are steel cases, with explosives inside them, which float near the surface of the water in the way of ships. Sometimes they are left floating loose, sometimes they are anchored. In either case, when a ship strikes them they turn over and the explosive inside is fired. A single mine is large and powerful enough to destroy any ship afloat, and there is no precaution possible against them, except sending out small vessels to sweep the sea for them, collect them together, and explode them harmlessly.

We see now what skill and watchfulness are needed in modern naval warfare—though we see it but faintly if we have never ourselves descended in a submarine or stood on the bridge of a battleship. And we have to add that a regular engagement between battleships now means the almost certain destruction of the losing ships and of every man on board.

MEDICAL WORK

Having spoken of the combatants we must add a word about the doctors and the nurses. Their distinguishing mark is the Red Cross, which by international agreement is everywhere the sign of medical work, whether those who carry it are transporting wounded, or performing operations, or nursing in the hospitals. Their toils are painful and dangerous and often performed under circumstances which make them heroic. None of the actual combatants have faced more danger than the doctors and nurses who fought the outbreak of typhus fever in Serbia in 1915.

B. THE FORCES AND THE COMMANDERS

THE BRITISH ARMY

In the early days of English history, during the Hundred Years' War with France, the army consisted of all the free

men, great and small, who followed their lords to battle in return for the land which they cultivated and called their own. At the head of the whole body was the King, whom they all swore to serve. Sometimes the King, if he had enough money, engaged other soldiers of his own, but this did not become usual till the time of the Stuarts: the Stuart kings used the public money to keep up an army, and this was one of the national grievances against them. Accordingly, when the Stuarts were driven out, the control over the army was given to the House of Commons, and every year the House of Commons granted money to pay the "standing army" for the next year. The old idea that every free man should carry arms and serve when he was called on quite disappeared.

The standing army of 1914 was a "short service" army. Every man in the infantry engaged to serve for seven years; after this he decided if he would return to civil life or not. If he returned, he was still for four years a "reservist"; he might be called out if war made his services necessary. At the end of that time he was quite free. If he decided, on the other hand, to stay in the army, he might make it the career of his life and retire after eighteen years on a small pension. His pay, during service, was about a shilling a day, besides food and clothes.

The men who joined the army came mostly from the same classes as the working men of the country. They had been educated at the primary schools, up to the age of about thirteen years, and they had learned some trade before they joined the army. They went back to this trade when they left it.

The officers were young men of higher position, who were usually educated at the great boarding-schools of England. They left these schools at the age of about seventeen years for military Colleges,* where they learnt

* Sandhurst and Woolwich.

their profession. They then joined the army as Lieutenants, and rose by various steps to be Captains, Majors, Colonels and possibly Generals. They spent the best part of their life in the army and retired usually soon after forty on a pension.

The troops of every army are divided into many branches, of which everyone remembers at least the Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. People sometimes forget, however, the Engineers, whose work is not only necessary but very difficult and dangerous, and needs very high skill. It is they, for instance, who have to make or destroy bridges, often under the enemy's fire. Then too there is the Medical Corps, and the Supply and Transport Corps. With these rests the task of feeding the army, a task requiring the greatest foresight. During the retreat from Mons the British army retired nearly seventy miles in four days, and every day food had to be provided for a hundred thousand men and many horses.

British infantry are divided into regiments. Each regiment had before the war two battalions of about a thousand men each; as a rule, one battalion stayed at home while the other served abroad in the Empire. In war, troops of all arms are formed into bodies called brigades, which contain four battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. A division may consist of two or more brigades, and an army of two or more divisions.

The total strength of the British Army before the war was about ten thousand officers and two hundred thousand men. Of these there were about a hundred and fifty thousand in the reserve while a hundred thousand were ready to take the field. In the autumn of 1914 a few hours saw this force under arms and a few days saw them in France.

In addition to these, Britain had a Territorial force. The history of this goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when there was some danger of a war with France.

At that time many citizens enrolled themselves as Volunteers, to undergo military training that they might, if necessary, defend the country against invasion. The force so formed continued in existence, and a few years ago it was better armed and organised and received the name of Territorials.

In 1914, the first days of the war saw almost the whole military force of Britain landed in France. Most of the regular British troops left India, accompanied by Indian troops, and their place was taken by Territorials. As time went on many of these Territorials themselves went to France or to other theatres of the conflict, while men were enlisted in England for the regular army. These men were formed into new battalions for the existing regiments, so that the old regiments of two battalions have now perhaps thirty, serving in different parts of the world. The total number of British soldiers now under arms is about five millions.

CONTINENTAL ARMIES

The various branches of the *German Army* and its organisation were much the same as in our own. It was not however a voluntary army; every adult who was not physically unfit was obliged to pass a period of service in it. This period was two years followed by twenty-two years in the reserve. The ordinary soldiers when on service, received little or no pay.

The officers came mostly from the landed nobility* and received an education and training much like those of our own. The total number of trained soldiers in the German Empire, on the outbreak of war, was probably about six millions. The annual cost of the German army was about £60,000,000; that of the British army £28,000,000. The

* • The "Junker" class of Prussia.

British army was of course paid and the expense of moving it about the Empire was heavy, and thus it cost more in proportion to its numbers than the German army.

The French Army, like the German Army, consisted of all the adult men in the country. Their period of training was three years. The total number of trained men of all ages was somewhat under four millions on the outbreak of war.

The *Austrian Army* numbered about four millions: the *Russian* about five. But all these figures do not lead us to certain conclusions how many men the Powers have now enrolled or how many they can actually put in the field. During the war they have handed over much of the ordinary work of their countries to women, and thus men are set free for service, and they have all lowered the age of enlistment so that many boys of sixteen years are under arms.

THE COMMANDERS

The whole direction of the war on land was entrusted on the British side to Lord Kitchener, who was made Secretary for War. He was sixty-four years of age, he had seen more of war and high command than any man alive, and he enjoyed the full confidence of the nation. His genius was that of an organiser; he was a far-sighted judge of events, an acute judge of men, and he knew in detail how to bring together armies, to train them, and to supply their innumerable wants. He recognised from the first that the war would be a long war: he told the nation to prepare for three years of it, and to add at once a million men to the number of their soldiers. The million men were forthcoming and Lord Kitchener fulfilled his part in training them. When we think of the difficulties of such a task we shall understand the country's debt to him; and we must add that his services did not end at home, for he worked in great



Lord Kitchener

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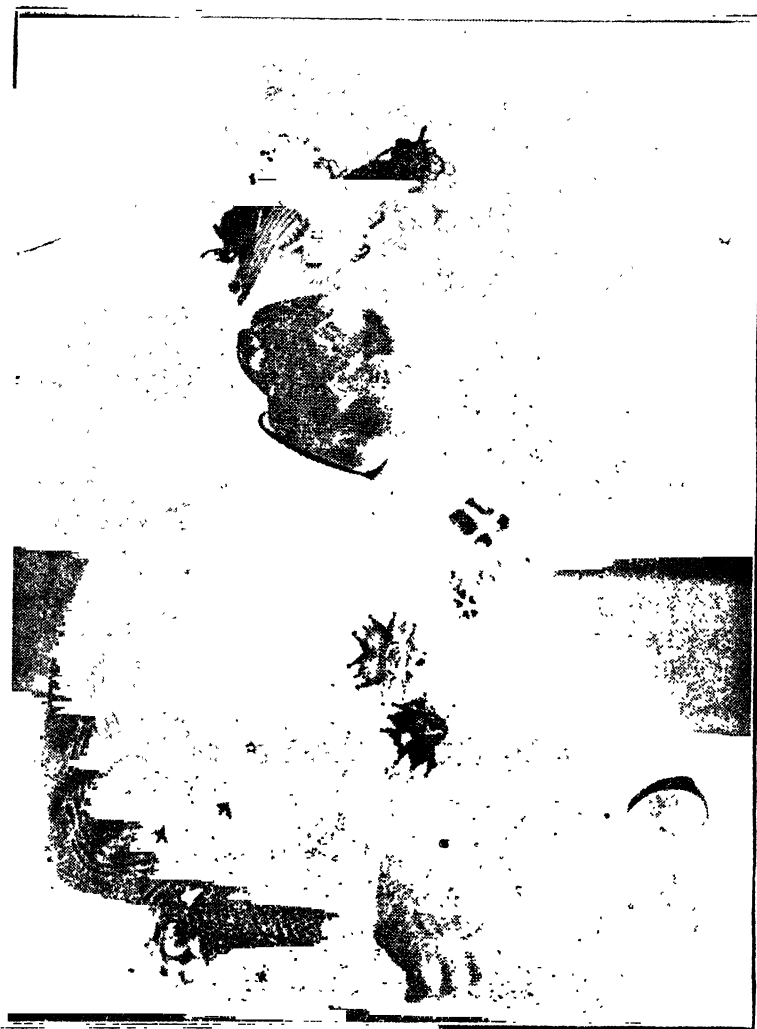
harmony with the French, so that history shows us no better example of co-operation between allies.

We have now to mourn his sudden death. Sailing to Russia on a British cruiser he and his staff perished, sunk by a mine off the Orkney Islands (June 5, 1916). No new Secretary for War can fully replace him. Nevertheless, we may reflect with much thankfulness that Lord Kitchener's chief work has once for all been done and does not need to be done again. He brought together the army which saved Britain in the early days of the war: he laid the foundation on which we are now building, and we have only to develop what he began. Our chief regret must be that he did not live to witness with his own eyes the fruit of his long and anxious toils.

In the field of war the first British Commander-in-Chief was Sir John French (now Viscount French). He made his name as a leader in the South African War, and he fully sustained it during the days of the retreat from Mons and the battle of Ypres. After a year of arduous work he retired from active service and was succeeded by Sir Douglas Haig.

The French Commander-in-Chief is General Joffre, now sixty-five years old. He is a man of humble birth, who has risen to his high position by distinguished merit. His early service was passed in the Engineers, and this has no doubt enabled him to understand and direct the trench warfare. He has also shown wonderful power to judge the whole situation in the field, to keep the due proportion of troops at every point, and to place the right men in command everywhere.

The German Army is nominally commanded by the Kaiser; it does not seem however that he has really directed the operations himself. Two of his generals have met with notable success in the field, Hindenburg and Mackensen. Both have commanded in the East; it was Hindenburg who



General Joffre

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carried through the great campaign against Russia in 1915. No German general has made a great name in France; the Crown Prince, who was placed in a high position, has proved a failure.

The Russian Armies are now commanded by the Czar in person, but the operations are entrusted to various generals. Of these the chief is the Grand Duke Nicholas, who was in charge in Poland in 1914. He fought the Germans on even terms there, and when he was sent to the Caucasus he led the Russians to success at Erzeroum.

THE NAVIES

Service in a modern navy is in all cases a matter of a lifetime; both men and officers enter the service as boys and they only leave it when they retire on pension.

The strength of the various nations in ships, when the war began, is shown by the following table:—

			Britain	France	Germany
Battleships					
(Dreadnoughts)	...	...	24	4	16
Battle Cruisers	...	...	10	—	5
Ships older than					
Dreadnoughts	...	...	74	38	29
Cruisers.	...	...	83	13	43
Destroyers	...	...	225	84	130
Torpedo boats	...	...	106	150	80

This table however is little guide to the present position, because losses have occurred and many new ships have been built. The number of men and officers in our Navy in 1914 was one hundred and fifty thousand; in the French Navy there were sixty thousand; in the German, eighty thousand.

The first British Grand Admiral was Sir John Jellicoe, who commanded with unbroken success for two years. He has now gone to advise the Government ashore and his place has been taken at sea by Sir David Beatty.

CHAPTER VII

THE WAR BY SEA

"The unforeseen", some philosopher has said, "the unforeseen is what happens." It has happened a good deal in this war, and perhaps the most interesting way of writing its history would be to point out the hopes of each side and see how far they have been realised.

The head-quarters of the German Navy are at Kiel and at Wilhelmshaven. These places are both safe from hostile ships. Before Wilhelmshaven lies the strong island fort of Heligoland; the coast of the North Sea is shallow and dangerous to ships that do not know it well; mines have been laid everywhere.

These centres are conveniently placed for operations either against Russia or England. They are connected by the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, so that in a few hours the German ships may move from the Baltic to the North Sea, and the British fleet never knows exactly where they are. Nevertheless, it has not been part of the German plans to steam out and attack the British. Though their ships and their guns and their men are quite capable of meeting ours, their strength is less and they are not prepared to risk a battle. Their plans seem to have been these:—

1. To destroy the British ships one by one, by means of mines and torpedoes. With this in view they have covered not only their own coasts but ours with mines; they have laid mines far out in the Atlantic to the west of Ireland, and their submarines have attacked our vessels by night and day. But only one great success has been achieved: the sinking of three British cruisers by a German submarine.

2. To damage and alarm England by raids on her coasts. More than one of these has been attempted and some damage has been done by swift vessels that have run across from Germany in the night and hurried back at dawn.

3. To destroy English commerce by armed cruisers on the high seas. In one respect the custom of war by sea differs from that of war by land; it has never been the rule to respect private property at sea. Whatever sails under the enemy's flag is liable to capture, and the Germans had every right to attack English commerce. Fortunately however they had few armed ships at sea when the war began. One of their cruisers in the early days did some damage, the *Emden*, which escaped from Tsingtau and for some weeks infested the Indian Ocean. She sank about a score of British ships, and was at last caught by an Australian cruiser, the *Sydney*. She attacked the wireless station on the Cocos Islands, the station sent out an appeal for help, which was picked up by the *Sydney*, and the *Sydney* appeared on the scene before the *Emden* could escape. She was a stronger ship, and she soon knocked the *Emden* to pieces. Later on a German ship escaped through the British fleet in the North Sea, disguised as a neutral, and sank many vessels in the Atlantic before want of coal forced her to enter an American port.

These schemes however were all subordinate to the one great hope of invading Britain itself. It is certain that the Germans long cherished such a hope, though not quite certain what form it took, if indeed any form of hope was possible so long as the British fleet commanded the sea. So long as this was the case, the Germans could scarcely venture to stir even a few miles from the Kiel canal: their best hope was that they might somehow find the British fleet divided and engage the weaker half of it. And there came a moment at the end of May 1915 when the fulfilment of this hope seemed to lie within their grasp. The whole German fleet steaming up the coast of Denmark—with what object we do not know—found a small fleet of British cruisers at sea. They at once attacked them, nor did the British cruisers decline the battle. It was long and fierce, and at first the

superiority of the German forces inflicted heavy losses on the British. In time however the rest of the Fleet came up: the fortune of the battle turned and the Germans retired at full speed to safety. Bad light helped them to escape, but with losses which the German Government have not yet acknowledged. We cannot be sure of them ourselves, but it seems certain that they amounted to five vessels of first-rate importance, besides many smaller; the British loss being four large vessels with others of less consequence. This has been the chief sea-battle of the war, and it has left the British fleet, as it found it, mistress of the waves so far as open conflict goes.

Turning now to the British Fleet and its aims, we may begin by noting its headquarters. These, as far as Britain is concerned, have been at Scapa Flow (in the Orkneys), Rosyth (on the Firth of Forth), and Dover. Its objects may be summed up as follows:—

1. To close the North Sea to German vessels, both ships of war and merchant ships.

2. To protect England against raids.

This, as we have seen, it has accomplished. The few occasions when German ships have approached the coast of England scarcely count in view of what they wished and hoped.

What the Germans have accomplished is simply to make one successful raid on the English coast. One long winter night three or four of their swiftest ships stole across the North Sea and bombarded Hartlepool, Whitby and Scarborough. Of these only the first was defended; all three were damaged*and many civilians were killed. Aided by a fog the German ships escaped to their dock-yards next morning. A second raid however was less satisfactory to the enemy. The German fleet were caught by a British squadron, and defeated in a running battle as they made for Heligoland. One cruiser was sunk, the *Blücher*; two were badly damaged.

3. To protect the transport of troops to France and to other scenes of conflict.

This too has been accomplished with truly marvellous success. During over two years millions of soldiers have crossed the ocean in every direction, often within a few miles of the enemy's headquarters, and there have not been more than one or two misadventures. Not more than once or twice has a transport perished.

We see here how the existence of a strong fleet changes the position ashore. It has not only saved England from invasion, it has enabled British soldiers to fight on the fields of Belgium in defence of their own country and to strengthen the continental cause against Germany.

4. The British sailors have long sighed for a conclusive action against the enemy, but their chance has not yet come. The Battle off Jutland has been their chief action but a few of the smaller engagements should not be forgotten. When the war began there was a strong German squadron in the South Pacific, which met and defeated four British ships off Valparaiso. This squadron was afterwards caught by a British force at the Falkland Islands and all except one ship were sunk. In the North Sea there was one hot engagement near Heligoland, in which two large German ships were sunk. These encounters have shown that the Germans are formidable foes, but that the British gunnery is superior. Most of our losses have been through mines or torpedoes.

We have not yet however finished the story of the war by sea: we must speak of the blockade and the submarine war. A blockade is a situation in which no ships are allowed to enter or leave a port; it is recognised that when nations are at war either of them may blockade the other's ports. It is agreed that when a port is blockaded, neutral vessels that try to enter it may be seized, provided that the port is really blockaded, that is to say provided that ships

are really sent to enforce the blockade. When the war broke out, England did not declare a blockade of German ports but forbade the importation of military supplies into Germany. These were declared contraband, and neutral ships that carried them were seized. The importation of food, however, and of some articles—such as cotton—was permitted.

After a time the situation was changed by the action of the German Government, which took charge of all articles of food in the country and placed them under military control. The British Government held that food thus became an article of military supply and refused to allow it to be imported. They declared a blockade of Germany. The German Government replied by declaring a blockade of Britain. They had however no means of enforcing this blockade except by the use of submarines, and this use broke the rules of war in many ways. Especially it broke the rule that merchant ships are entitled to notice before they are attacked: the Germans gave them no notice but sank them by torpedoes and left the crews struggling in the waves. In reply to this blockade of Britain the British Government declared an absolute blockade of Germany, which we enforced by our fleet, stationed at the entrance to the North Sea.

It has been the duty of the Royal Navy to watch the entrance to the North Sea, but they have been assisted by a very large body of merchant vessels, which have been engaged in sweeping the sea for mines and in many duties connected with the blockade. These are manned by the common sailors and fishermen of the coasts and no history of the war must omit to mention their courage and perseverance. Hundreds of these boats have been sunk by mines and torpedoes, thousands of men have been drowned but the living never fail to take the places of the dead. And the same must be said of the crews of the merchant

service who have worked our ships across these perilous seas. In 1915 nearly six hundred merchant ships carrying general cargoes were sunk and in many cases almost all the crew perished ; the survivors often suffered the last degree of hardship, but there has never been any delay in finding a crew for a voyage.

Nor must we deny to the enemy credit for the energy with which they built ever larger and larger submarines, and mastered the dangerous and difficult task of using them. They have been caught and sunk by our Navy in great numbers, and sometimes the seas have been cleared of them, but they have always reappeared and still today take a heavy toll of the Allies' merchant navies, and of all neutral ships that approach Britain. They dive under the British fleet, voyage far out into the Atlantic and menace our ships night and day with destruction and sudden death.

In the Mediterranean the submarines arrived some time after the beginning of the war, being brought overland to Pola, the headquarters of the Austrian fleet, and to Constantinople. But preparations had been made for them long before : the Kaiser had a villa on Corfu where vast stores of oil were accumulated, and they had many lurking-places among the rocky isles of the Aegean. They have been as dangerous in the Mediterranean as they are in the North Sea and have been hunted with the same perseverance.

The great naval episode in the Mediterranean has been the attempt to force the Dardanelles. This narrow passage had been provided by the Germans with every possible defence, for they saw that an attack on Constantinople would dismay Turkey, and as long as the straits were closed Russian commerce was paralysed. The British Government, which also saw this, determined on trying to force them. Unfortunately they were too slow about this determination and they made the mistake of committing the first attempt to the fleet alone. The Turks, however,

and their German advisers had posted immense guns in secret places among the hills of Gallipoli: the fleet could neither find nor destroy them, and valuable ships were sunk by floating mines. An army was then landed on the peninsula, on a rocky coast defended equally by nature and art: the cost in life was dreadful, but the landing was effected and for many months an assault on the Turkish defences was kept up. The chief burden fell on British forces, though some French were present: their loss in killed and wounded amounted to nearly a hundred thousand men. It was incurred in vain, as far as the peninsula went: the Turkish defences could not be stormed, and with the approach of the winter of 1915-16 it was decided to withdraw the troops, which were mostly landed at Salonika.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAR BY LAND

A. THE WESTERN FRONT

In writing the history of the war by land we shall try to follow the same plan as before and see what the aims of the combatants were and how far they have been realised. In this, of course, we may not always be on very sure ground. The commanding generals on each side have not taken the world into their confidence, and we are not certain what their plans were. Nor do we always know the course of the operations or their issue, and we are always much in the dark as to numbers. Still, if we do not deceive ourselves as to the limits of our knowledge, we may form some safe conclusions and at any rate we may trace events on the grand scale.

The general object of the Germans was to begin by crushing France. Russia, they thought, would take time

to bring her forces into action; they felt confident in their powers of defence on their eastern frontier, and their first move was to concentrate their forces on France.

Now the Franco-German frontier begins at the corner of the Rhine, where the two countries meet Switzerland, and it stretches in a north-westerly direction from that point upwards. For some miles it passes through the Vosges, a mountainous and hilly country which is a natural defence against an invader. Then follows some more open country, through which flows the river Moselle, to join the Rhine. Next comes the wooded and hilly region of the Ardennes; then the open plains of North-East France bordering on Belgium. At various points on this line French fortresses commanded the roads; Belfort in the extreme south; Verdun in the centre, between the Vosges and the Ardennes; and Maubeuge on the Belgian frontier. The Germans' chief line of advance was directed through Belgium towards Maubeuge; they also entered Luxemburg* and advanced against Verdun. Their own headquarters were at Aix-la-Chapelle and at Metz. Between Aix and Maubeuge lay the Belgian neutral territory, which they intended to cross in a few hours.

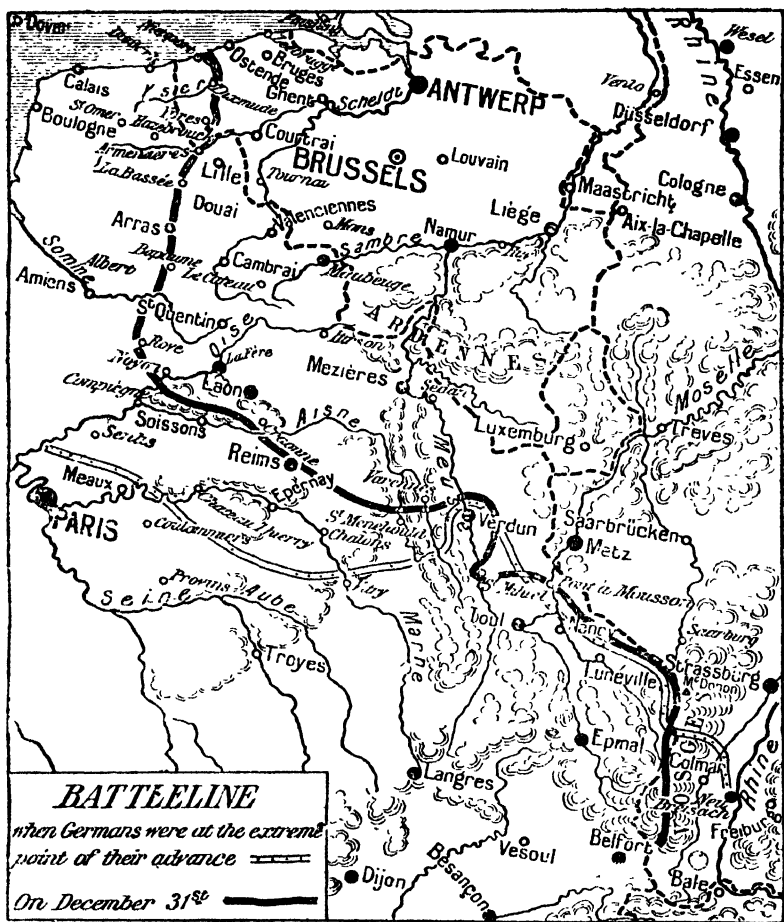
A few hours indeed sufficed to bring their own armies to the frontier. Their organisation, their preparations and the speed of their attack are amongst the most wonderful things in history. But the same few hours saw the Belgian army in motion, and before the Germans stood the fortress of Liège. They could not venture to leave it behind them untaken; time was precious; their siege guns were not at hand; so they attacked it with columns of infantry. The attack was successful, but the loss of men was so dreadful that the same measures were not tried at Namur. They waited for the arrival of their howitzers, which destroyed Namur at once, and in a few days they were ready for the

* This little state was nominally independent, and like Belgium it had been declared neutral by the Powers.

advance on France. During these few days they occupied Brussels, the capital of Belgium. The city was spared, in consideration of a fine of £8,000,000, but nearly every town and village of central Belgium was burned to ashes. The Belgian army, overwhelmed, but fighting till the last, retired northwards to Antwerp.

Meanwhile the French were collecting their forces, and the British army had already landed at Boulogne. The easy triumph over Belgium was finished, and the Germans now encountered a stronger opposition. This too they were able to bear down. From Maubeuge to Verdun the French armies were steadily pressed back, and with them the expeditionary force of Great Britain.

We shall follow the fortunes of this force a little more in detail. It was under the command of Sir John French; though we have never been told its exact numbers we may suppose them to have amounted to about 100,000 men. Its presence and above all its stubborn resistance greatly angered the Germans and special efforts were made to destroy it. It had indeed a narrow escape. It was stationed at Mons, in Belgian territory, a little north of Maubeuge. It was thus opposite the right wing of the German army and itself formed the left of the Allies' line. This position it took up after a long march, on August 22nd, and on August 23rd in the evening, General French received a most unexpected message, from General Joffre, that a force of Germans more than double his own numbers were marching round his left, and that the French on his right had been defeated and were retiring. It became very urgent for General French to retire, and at daylight on August 24th he did so, reaching the fortress of Maubeuge, which he placed on his right. The Germans now tried to keep him under the walls of Maubeuge and surround him there, and severe fighting took place on Aug. 25th. The British Army, however, made good its retreat, and on the evening of Aug. 25th reached Cambrai. On the



26th all day and far into the night the retreat was continued, and on the 27th and 28th some help was received from the French. By this time the British troops were near Compiègne, at a distance of about seventy miles from Mons.

Their losses had been very severe, but the army was safe. The Germans were too exhausted to continue the attack. Nothing had been wanting on their side in the way of courage and fierce resolution. Wave after wave of their soldiers hurled themselves against the British lines; they fell by countless thousands; they fell in vain.

At Compiègne the British army was out of danger. The French brought an army from Amiens and placed it on the British left, and the whole Allied army then retired south, across the Aisne, across the Marne. The Germans took Rheims. The French Government packed up its papers; the French Bank packed up its gold, and both removed their headquarters to Bordeaux. German troops were seen within ten miles of Paris; it seemed to be only a question of days when they would batter down the forts of Paris and enter the streets of the capital.

But the German army had spent itself. It had marched itself to exhaustion; it had out-marched its food supply; it felt unequal to the siege of Paris. This, at least, we must suppose, for it seems to be the only way of explaining the Germans' next movement. Instead of advancing, the right wing of the Germans began to move towards the left, to the south-east, and away from Paris. This happened on September 3rd, and at once a French army that was lying near Paris advanced on the German rear. The Germans were lying on the banks of the Marne, and the battle which followed is known as the battle of the Marne. It was the turning point of the campaign. All along the Marne the Germans were severely defeated and they in their turn began a retirement north. They too retired in good order, and every day from September 7th onwards there was heavy

fighting between them and the Allies. The Germans finally reached and crossed the river Aisne, and took up a strong position on its north bank.

This position no doubt they had long studied, and even during their advance they had prepared it as a place of refuge if they had to retreat. It was soon defended by trenches which made a frontal attack impossible, and presently this line of trenches extended westwards almost to the sea and eastwards to the Vosges. Winter came on, and both sides settled down to the trench war.

This kind of war is not quite a new thing, for there have been many sieges in history; but there has never been a siege on such a scale as that which has now lasted two years in France. On both sides innumerable trenches have been dug, with deep chambers underground, where almost the whole life of the men is spent, where they sleep, feed, keep all their stores, hold all their councils of war. Electricity is used to light these trenches, and telephones to maintain communications. Some of them may be said to be roughly comfortable: many are cold and wretched, full of water or snow; but they are never in any case for one moment left unguarded. They are often quite close to the enemy's lines—so close sometimes that it is almost possible for each side to hear the others talk, and the weapons used are so deadly that the least exposure means death.

How then is fighting carried on?

1. Machines called periscopes are used, with mirrors which permit a view of the ground above the trenches: rifles and machine-guns peer through loopholes in the parapets and by means of the periscopes they are aimed against the enemy.

2. Much use is made of bombs, which are thrown by hand from one trench to another.

3. Mines are dug under the opposite trenches and exploded: the infantry then rush forward and try to occupy the hole formed by the explosion or possibly the trench itself.

4. And all the time immense guns in the rear—perhaps miles away—are dropping shells on the trenches and trying to drive the enemy out of them.

5. To meet the machine-guns of the enemy the English have invented special armoured cars (known as “tanks”) with powerful engines inside them, that can cross almost any country and advance right up to the line of trenches. They have their own machine-guns, which fire through narrow slits, and they fight the Germans in their trenches while our soldiers are advancing.

Night attacks are incessant, and there have not been wanting general attacks on both sides designed to drive back the whole of the enemy’s line. Those of chief importance have been:—

1. The German attack on Ypres. This was the first of the general attacks and it was launched in 1914 against the British at Ypres. After the battle of the Marne the British moved up from the Aisne to Flanders, where they settled down with the Belgian army on their left. The Germans attacked them for a fortnight, presumably with the object of breaking through to Calais; the losses on both sides were enormous but the attack failed.

2. The British attacks on Neuve Chapelle and Loos in 1915. These were long and stern but they ended with the same lesson, that modern entrenchments with modern guns behind them and wire entanglements in front of them cannot be rushed.

3. The French attack in Champagne. This was the most successful of the attacks in 1915: the French took many prisoners and gained some ground, but they did not break the German line.

4. The German attack on Verdun. This was thought out by the Germans during the winter, and they began it in February, 1916, before the winter snows had melted. We do not quite know why they chose Verdun for this attempt. It is a town surrounded by a ring of forts situated in a

country of low hills covered with forest—perhaps the easiest country for a general attack. The Germans massed an incredible number of guns, poured an incredible number of shells on the French forts, and when they thought the defenders were quite crushed threw forward legions of infantry to seize them. The French on their side replied to the German artillery with their own, crept into holes, and defied the bombardment, and when the infantry advanced destroyed them with machine-guns. There has never been so prodigal a waste of human life.

Nevertheless, Verdun did not fall. When the Germans were less than three miles from the town their hearts failed them and the battle on the Somme began to need all their energies. A few weeks later, in the autumn of 1916, the French by a sudden rush recovered all the ground the Germans had gained, and the assault on Verdun became nothing more than a memory.

The recent battle on the Somme began in the great bend to the South of Arras, where there had hitherto been little fighting. But the country had been thoroughly fortified by the enemy and some of the fortifications were among the strongest that men have ever made. They were all underground, some of them having chambers large enough to hold thousands of men, with electric lifts to raise them quickly to the surface. They were defended against the British and the French with stubborn courage and they were only taken by storms of shell-fire that lasted day and night for weeks and assaults that cost seas of blood. This campaign is not in the least at an end. We have not yet even taken Peronne—the chief fort in that region, but there has been real progress and the enemy have suffered losses not less terrible than our own.

Our great deficiency during 1915 was in ammunition. It must be confessed that in this matter we showed a lack of foresight. We allowed months to pass before we realised

that our men were actually in danger of failing for want of weapons of war. We had raised large armies without providing for their needs, and the mistake took time to remedy. A new office was created, that of Minister of Munitions: it was filled by Mr. Lloyd George, who called to his side manufacturers and men of business, built new works and bent the national energy to the production of military supplies. It was not, however, until more than eighteen months after the outbreak of the war, that we could say our soldiers were not fighting at a disadvantage in this matter of weapons. In nothing, on the other hand, have the foresight and organisation of the Germans been more displayed than in their production of such things; they have at Essen alone, in Krupp's great works, a quarter of a million skilled workmen engaged in the production of guns. They foresaw the importance of artillery in the war, and their guns, in size and mobility, have amazed the world.

B. THE EASTERN FRONT

The theatre of war in the East is by no means easy to place before us, but we may begin by grasping firmly the course of the Vistula, with its three towns of Thorn, Warsaw and Cracow, belonging respectively to Germany, Russia and Austria. The whole basin of the river is flat and convenient for the movements of armies, except in North-Eastern Prussia, where these are rendered difficult by lakes and marshes. All through the territory of Germany, military movements are assisted by a network of railways, which makes it easy for the Germans to concentrate their troops. In Poland the railways are very few, and no doubt they have now been so much damaged by the war that they need hardly be considered to exist. This absence of railways is favourable on the whole to the Russians, for it deprives the

Germans of means of moving heavy guns and other pieces of machinery which they possess and the Russians do not.

The events which have happened in the Eastern campaigns are much hidden by the fog of war and we shall not pretend to clear them up entirely. But we can certainly distinguish three fields of action and the main events in each.

It was in East Prussia that operations first began, the Russians moving much faster than anyone had expected, threading their way through the lakes and capturing small Prussian towns. Perhaps they wished to help the French by diverting some German troops to East Prussia. Perhaps they undervalued the German soldiers in East Prussia. Anyhow, they advanced faster than was wise and they were caught by General Hindenburg and defeated with immense loss in the battle of Tannenberg.

After this the Germans in their turn invaded Poland, advancing swiftly upon Warsaw. In this campaign Hindenburg met the Grand Duke Nicholas, and each showed himself an antagonist worthy of the other. We may perhaps distinguish three German attempts to reach Warsaw in the autumn and winter of 1914, which all ended, after heavy fighting, in their retirement. During the winter however they thought out very carefully their plans for 1915 and the summer campaign of that year saw them successful along the whole Eastern front. But before we enter on this campaign we must trace the course of events in Galicia.

In 1914 the Russians, moving with more speed than people expected, entered Galicia, occupied Lemberg and advanced towards Cracow. The fortress of Przemyśl, after long investment, fell to their arms with 100,000 prisoners, and they reached the crest of the Carpathians. It was generally hoped by the Allies that the spring of 1915



would see them in Hungary. The spring however saw something very different.

The Austrian forces were reorganised by the Prussians and when they met the Russians in the spring the latter found themselves obliged to withdraw from all their conquests in Galicia. Week by week they crossed river after river, falling back on the San and the Dniester, till they reached Russian soil. Then the German armies from north and south began to converge on Warsaw: here too the Russians had to retire, and Warsaw fell to the enemy. After this began a general advance of the German armies along the whole Eastern front. Fort after fort fell before them in Courland and North Poland, the town of Vilna was taken, and it seemed that they would certainly take Riga and only cease their advance with the approach of winter.

The Russians however, in spite of fearful losses, had kept their armies together. They avoided all their enemy's attempts to surround and annihilate them; and at the last moment they put up a most unexpected and valiant resistance at the line of the Dvina. The Germans attacked this position with desperate energy, but they too had come to the end of their resources. Their men were exhausted by the long campaign and they found themselves brought to a pause. In the South the same thing happened. They pushed a hundred miles beyond Warsaw, but they were held up by the marshes of the Pripiet and winter laid its hand upon them.

Both sides passed the winter (1915-1916) in the open field. The Russians tried an advance in the South, but it was found that nothing could be done till the spring or even the summer, when the floods had disappeared and the ground dried up. The Russians employed the time in refitting their forces. There is no doubt that the chief cause of their reverses was want of equipment, and

their own country, being mainly agricultural, was not able quickly to supply this want. Moreover they had no ports open save Archangel and distant Vladivostock—both closed by ice in winter: their own Allies therefore could do little for them, though no doubt the Japanese sent them what they could.

The Germans, it seems, scarcely believed that the Russians could recover from the disasters of 1915—at



any rate they allowed the Russians to surprise them. In the month of June 1916 the Russians advanced once more into Bukhovina and took Czernovitz. They then threatened Lemberg, and we began to hope they would once

more reach the crest of the Carpathians. Our hopes however were disappointed. The Prussians came once more to the help of the Austrians, directed and reinforced their armies, and stopped the Russian advance. There has been much hard fighting but Hungary is not yet invaded.

On the contrary, the Allied cause has suffered a blow in the South, through the misfortunes of Roumania. This little state made the mistake (like the Allies elsewhere) of being too late. She ought to have joined in the war when the Russians were advancing: she waited till the Germans had checked them. Then she entered Transylvania—for a few days, and after a few days she found the Germans turning upon her with lightning speed. They drove her forces back through the frontier passes. General Mackensen went to Bulgaria and led a Bulgarian army north through the Dobrudja, chasing the Russians who had come to help Roumania, capturing the Roumanian port of Constanza and the bridge over the Danube at Czernavoda. His troops then crossed the river and invaded Roumania from the south. Our latest news from this theatre of war is the fall of Bukharest. We cannot deny the readiness and military skill of the Germans in this campaign, which threatens to end in laying Roumania beneath the feet of Germany, like Serbia. At present we can only console ourselves with the hope that the Roumanian army may be able to retreat northwards till it joins the Russians and that they may be able to reconquer their country next spring. In the meantime the enemy will strip it of food and numbers of people of all ages will perish from starvation.

C. THE BALKANS

The original cause of the war being, according to Austria, the misconduct of Serbia, one of her first objects was to punish this country. An expedition was accordingly sent there, but it was driven out with heavy

loss. The same fate befell a second expedition, and Serbia seemed safe. But things changed when the Prussian generals took matters in hand: the third expedition, in the autumn of 1915, laid Serbia in the dust.

In this invasion the Germans had the help of the Bulgarians, "the betrayers of the Slav cause": they entered the country from the South while the Germans crossed the Danube in the North. It must be admitted that the Allies showed some want of foresight and the Serbians some overconfidence in meeting this situation. Could nothing have been done to help Serbia? At any rate nothing was done till too late. The Allies went on believing that the Bulgarians would keep quiet, that the Greeks would do their duty, and when the hour came, though some Allied troops were landed at Salonika, they were not ready to advance. The Serbian army, fighting to the last, retired through the mountains of Albania to the coast, where they were taken by the Allies to Corfu. The civilians of the country were left to suffer the worst extremes of misery, falling into the hands of their ancient enemies, the Bulgarians, who slew and starved them without mercy.

Now the one Power which comes miserably out of this episode is Greece. After the Balkan War the Greeks made a treaty with Serbia promising that they would support her if she was attacked by Bulgaria. When the Allies called on her to fulfil this treaty she refused. Why? As far as the King* is concerned, because he stood up for Germany, carrying with him, no doubt, some of his subjects, whom he persuaded that 'Germany was sure to win. As far as the people were concerned, we can only say because many of them were afraid to do their duty—to stand by their old friend Serbia against the old enemy of both nations, Bulgaria. Greece has lost the respect of

* The first King of Greece was a German. The present King of Greece is a Dane, married to the sister of the German Emperor.

the world by this misconduct, and the best thing we can say is that her people now show some desire to act a more manly part and some are fighting with the Allies as volunteers.

But the hesitation of Greece has prevented the Allies from doing much at Salonika. They have not felt able to move while they were uncertain what the Greeks would do behind them. Nevertheless, something has been accomplished. The Serbian army—much thinned in numbers—has been brought back from Corfu, and it has taken Monastir from the Bulgarians. This is a real success and we hope it will be the beginning of a general recovery of Serbia. But the country is very mountainous and any advance during the winter will be difficult.

D. THE WAR WITH TURKEY

The Turks, though they intended from the first, as we now know, to enter the war, delayed action long after it began, and have never acted resolutely on any fixed plan. Their eyes were naturally fixed on Egypt, and a strong attack on Egypt was what promised them most. But this they were never able to make. The British advance in Mesopotamia and the landing in Gallipoli occupied too many of their best troops, and Germany was never able to send them men. Officers and money and ammunition the Germans sent in abundance, but not men. Hence the attack on Egypt was fitful and feeble, and it scarcely ever reached the line of the Canal. The British now hold this line, with the aid of Indian troops, so strongly that all danger in this quarter is over. There have been attacks by the Arabs on the west, but they too have come to nothing.

The Indian Government sent an expedition to Mesopotamia in the early days of November 1914. This was formed of both British and Indian troops, and it met with great success. Basra was taken, and a continuous series of



victories brought the army within sight of Baghdad. But by this time its numbers had been sadly thinned, while those of the Turks had been steadily increased, and after the battle of Ctesiphon (Nov. 1915) a retreat was found necessary. It ended at Kut-el-Amara, where the army was surrounded in a loop of the Tigris and besieged. For nearly half a year the siege lasted; the Turks took up a strong position south of Kut, and held it against the relieving force. At last the food of the garrison was quite exhausted and the whole force, now reduced to nine thousand men, surrendered (April 1916). The position on the Tigris still continues unchanged: the British force is entrenched before the Turks: neither side is able to advance. The heat of the summer prevented all operations.

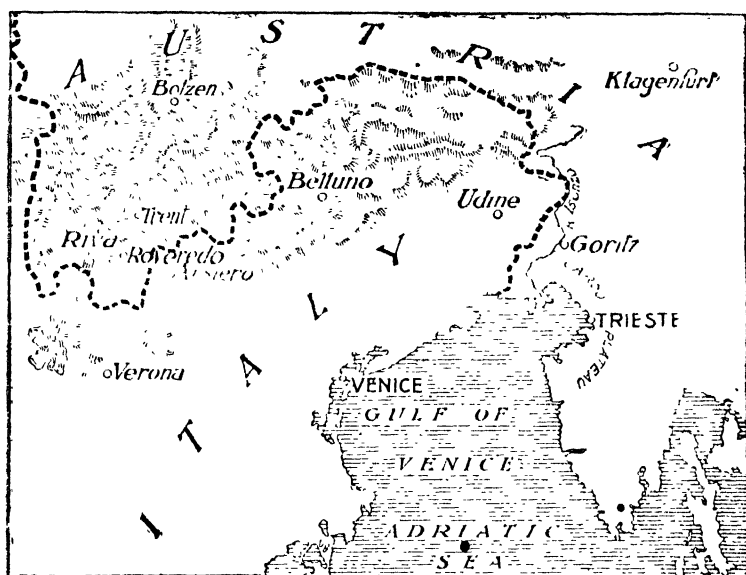
In Asia Minor for a year the Turks and the Russians fought with varying success, till the Grand Duke Nicholas came from Europe in 1915. He set to work, making quiet preparations throughout the autumn and the winter, till in the spring the Allies heard the unexpected news that the Russians had captured Erzeroum (Feb. 1916). This is the strongest of the Turkish forts in Asia Minor; it lies in wild hilly country, many thousand feet high, where the snow might seem to make all winter operations impossible. But it was just the impossibility of the task that enabled the Russians to capture Erzeroum, for they crept forward through the snow, surprised the enemy and carried the fort by storm. Soon after this they took the port of Trebizond, and their object is now to move south and cut the Baghdad railway. This will separate the Turks in the south from their base in the north and from supplies and reinforcements.

Russia is thus in possession of Armenia, whose Christian people are at last delivered from the tyranny of ages. In this war they have suffered from plunder and massacre almost to the point of extermination, a fact which must not

be hidden, though we gladly admit that the Turks have shown great courtesy towards their European opponents, especially towards the British in Mesopotamia.

E. ITALY

When the Italians entered the war they at once took vigorous action and attacked the Austrians both in the Trentino and on the eastern frontier towards Trieste. In both directions preparations had long been made to resist



them. The country is very mountainous in both districts, and the mountains, which approach the line of perpetual snow, had been strongly fortified. Galleries were cut in the rock, and guns were posted in caverns commanding all passes and approaches. In the east it was the line of the Isonzo river that was defended, with the high land beyond it known as the Carso Plateau. Here for a year the Italians have fought their way onwards with

their eyes fixed on Trieste, but their progress has been very slow. When their advance began to be real and progress also showed itself in the Trentino, the Germans surveyed the situation with their accustomed care and determined to change it. Long and carefully they laid their plans and accumulated their materials and in May 1916 they began a general attack in the Trentino. It opened with a great success: the Italians were driven back into Italy and it began to appear that the line of the railway might be cut and the Italians on the Isonzo separated from the rest of Italy.

At the last hour, however, the Austrians—already in the plains of Italy—were checked and rolled back to the mountains, while on the Carso Plateau they met with a great reverse. The Italians surprised them at a time when it was thought that the campaign near the Trentino needed all the Italian soldiers. Thus the Italians took the important town of Goritz. This still leaves them much to do before they approach Trieste, but it is an encouraging advance. Probably they will be able to follow it up next spring.

Meantime Italian soldiers are in possession of Valona, on the east of the Adriatic, and they have advanced inland and helped the Serbians to retake Monastir.

F. PORTUGAL

The little state of Portugal was not called on to enter the war by any special reasons of interest or honour, but she has long been an ally of Britain and she was not content to remain a mere neutral. She notified the German Government that she would not protect indefinitely the German ships that had taken refuge in the harbour of Lisbon. The Germans immediately declared war against her (March 1915). Probably they were not sorry to draw Portugal into,

the war, for her military force is small, while she has valuable colonies, which Germany if victorious would appropriate. Naturally there has been little fighting between Portugal and Germany, but Portuguese troops have co-operated with the British against German East Africa.

G. AFRICA

When the war broke out the German possessions in Africa were:—

1. The Cameroons.
2. South West Africa.
3. German East Africa.

The Cameroons were occupied, after about a year of war by French and British troops; and South-West Africa by troops from Cape Colony. In both cases there was fighting, but it was only the difficulty of the country that delayed the result. German East Africa was more strongly held, and it was the scene of a smart British reverse in the early days of the war. An attack was made without sufficient preparation on the port of Tanga, and it was beaten back with heavy loss. For a year after this, little movement took place on either side, but in the spring of 1916 a force from Cape Colony joined the British troops, and serious operations began. They are not yet finished, but the country is now invaded from every side and the Germans are being slowly driven back to the centre. The British forces are under General Smuts, a Dutchman from South Africa, who fought against Great Britain in the Boer War.

H. THE FAR EAST

The settlement of Tsingtau was the base from which Germany meant to create an Empire in China, while the Baghdad Railway gave her one in the Near East. She built there as men build who are building for eternity, and

Tsingtau, in its first youth, was already one of the most solid and splendid places in the Far East. Had Germany been as wise as she has been foolish, she would at once on the outbreak of war have handed it back to China. This might have won the gratitude of China and would at least have kept the Japanese out of it. The Germans have long ago proclaimed their hostility to the Japanese, and the Japanese with prompt sagacity, when war began, declared war against Germany and pounced on Tsingtau. Their declared policy was not to keep it, but to hand it back after the war to China. The siege of Tsingtau was neither long nor memorable; though a fortified and defended place, it could not resist the captors of Port Arthur. British troops assisted in the operations. The city is now administered by Japan and its German tenants are prisoners of war in that country. Thus ends a great dream and an outlay of twenty millions sterling in gold.

I. THE PACIFIC

The chief of the German possessions in the Pacific was Samoa; there were also small islands used as wireless stations. These places have been occupied by the Australians.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

A. GERMANY

We know very well how war is conducted by savage races; they spare nothing and nobody. They kill man, woman, and child; they destroy and plunder everything. They see nothing wrong in this; the only thing they consider is success. But as races rise into civilisation they begin to observe rules in the conduct of war. 'This is partly

because they are moved by pity, and partly through self-interest. It does not altogether pay to make every war as bitter as possible; the conquered may some day find a chance of revenge, and their revenge will be fierce in proportion to what they have suffered. For these two reasons civilised war has become more humane than savage war, and an instance of this may be found in the rise of knighthood among the Germans themselves. This institution did much to protect the weak during the Dark Ages of Europe. Unfortunately during the long religious wars knighthood vanished and there has been no war more savage than the Thirty Years' War in Germany.

After this however the conscience of the world woke up again and the nations of the modern world began to feel that there should be some limit placed to cruelty in war. It was the part of thoughtful writers to see exactly how far men would be willing to agree on this point and to draw up rules. The first of such writers was a Dutchman, who wrote a book on Public Right in Peace and War. He did not go very far, but he made a beginning, and he started the idea of an International Law. This has been developed since his day: there are now many books on it; but we have to remember that these books only contain opinions of what people ought to do, not what they have agreed to do or can in any way be forced to do.

Up to a certain point however there are agreements, of which the chief and best known are those made by the Hague Conference, 1907.* This conference was attended by representatives of all the Powers, and on many points it laid down rules concerning war which were accepted by them all. There is hardly one of these rules which Germany has not broken during the present war.

* The Hague, the capital of Holland, was chosen for the scene of the Conference as the capital of a small Power where the States could all meet on terms of equality.

The charges against the Germans have been examined by British and French Commissions; the British Commission was composed of eminent and responsible men, and it is impossible not to accept the result of their enquiries. They have found that:—

1. There have been many abuses of both the white flag and Red Cross. The white flag, the sign of surrender, has been used by the Germans to entice men within reach of their guns. The Red Cross has been used to conceal movements of ammunition.

2. Throughout the war, hospitals have been fired on and hospital ships sunk.

3. The German treatment of prisoners is described by Mr. Asquith as the blackest spot in the German conduct of the war. Wounded soldiers have been robbed of their clothes; medicines and medical attendance have been denied them; and, in one famous case, a whole camp was left to die of typhus unattended and almost deprived of food.

In the field of battle the Germans have used many weapons which the sense of mankind, if not the Hague convention, condemns: poisonous gas, liquid fire, etc. In South West Africa they even poisoned wells. They have strewn the open sea with mines, fatal to combatant and neutral alike. They have bombarded defenceless towns and, above all, they have sent their Zeppelins to drop bombs at random in the darkness of the night on all inhabited places they could find or guess at. These Zeppelin raids have cost the lives of many hundreds of women and children, and of common civilians: they are simply a return to the ancient idea of war, that it should slay without mercy, without distinction of age or sex. The sinking, without warning, of great passenger ships, such as the *Lusitania*, and the *Arabia* is on a par with the Zeppelin raids, and has filled the world with horror.

But the events of more recent days must not and do not make us forget that the worst offences of Germany were in the first days of the war, during the invasion of Belgium. When her army passed through Belgium, it left behind little but smoking ruins and corpses of men, women and children. It is worth our while to understand exactly what happened.

It has always been agreed that the civil population of an invaded country must not molest the invader if they are to be left alone themselves.* Anyone who attacks him or helps to attack him is liable to be shot without mercy; and if a town as a whole takes part in such an attack it may be burned. This is fair enough,† but what the Germans did in Belgium was to execute these laws of war with extreme and unheard-of cruelty. We may suppose, what is very likely, that some stray shot was occasionally fired against them by a Belgian civilian. They replied immediately by burning his town and slaughtering his fellow-citizens. One town so burned was Louvain, the chief University of Belgium, a place famous in the history of learning for centuries. It is now a heap of ashes. Not for ages has the world felt such a thrill of astonishment and horror as on the morning when it read of the destruction of Louvain.

No war has ever inflicted more suffering on the people of invaded lands. The Germans have plundered them with all the thoroughness of their genius, cutting down forests in France and Belgium, carrying off the machinery of Lille

* We should note however that the German Government issues standing orders to its own subjects that if the country is invaded the civil population are to destroy the invader by any means in their power. We shall see what happens when the Allies invade Germany.

† To some extent the British troops in South Africa observed this rule against the Boers. They never shot the civil population for attacking them, though they burned farm-houses from which shots were fired against British troops. This forbearance prolonged the war but it had its reward in the absence of bitter memories when the war ceased.



Louvain—Ruins in Students' Quarter

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and Lodz, and even the libraries and archives of Serbia. The whole population that is left, together with the prisoners of war, have been set to work for their masters under penalty of death by starvation, being often compelled to forge weapons against their kinsmen in the field.

Finally the Germans are now carrying off French and Belgians of both sexes into slavery. They need men and women to make munitions of war and they need their own men in the fighting line—hence this new outrage, which has moved even the neutral Government of America to protest against it.*

And one cannot help saying a word about the preparations which Germany made for this war. Every state prepares for war. Every ambassador in a foreign country keeps his eyes open to notice things which will be useful if that country fights his own. And even ordinary citizens living abroad for the purpose of business may reasonably notice such things too. But German thoroughness went so far beyond the practice of other countries in this matter that it has threatened all future confidence between nations. The German spy system penetrated everywhere. There were everywhere houses of business, great and small, insurance companies and other concerns, which were simply pretences maintained to conceal spying operations. And every German enjoying the hospitality of a foreign country was more or less a paid professional spy. German consular offices were full of military preparations against the country where they were allowed to exist. All this has come out since the war, and men are feeling that it will be impossible to receive Germans as residents in future, and difficult perhaps to receive the citizens of any foreign country. The

* "The United States solemnly protest against this action, contravening all precedents of humane principles and international practice which have been followed by civilised nations in the treatment of non-combatants." These are not the words of any representative of the Allied Powers but of the chief neutral state.

international confidence of the world has suffered a blow, and one of the tasks of peace will be to restore it.

B. GREAT BRITAIN

Self-praise is contemptible alike in men and nations, but the non-combatant writing of his country's soldiers must say what they may fairly claim in their conduct of the war.

We do not speak here of their courage. It stares one in the face from every page of the record—though indeed there is no nation in the field that has not earned the same praise. We may rather use these pages to dwell on their good humour, their unselfishness, and their many acts of kindness towards each other and the enemy. In all the great sea-battles our vessels have lowered their boats to save the German survivors. This has sometimes been done under the enemy's fire; and there are now nearly three thousand German naval prisoners.

Temptations to cruelty are not the only temptations of the soldier's life; and this was foreseen by Lord Kitchener when he sent the British force to France. Here are a few words from his farewell advice to each of them:—

“You are ordered abroad as a soldier of the King to help our French comrades against the invasion of a common enemy. You have to perform a task needing your courage, your energy, your patience.

Remember that the honour of the British Army depends upon your individual conduct. It will be your duty not only to set an example of discipline, but also to maintain friendly relations with those whom you are helping in this struggle.

The operations in which you are engaged will for the most part take place in a friendly country. You can do your country no better service than in showing yourself in France and Belgium in the true character of the British soldier. Be invariably courteous, considerate and kind. • Never do any;

thing likely to destroy property. Always look upon looting as a disgraceful act.

You are sure to meet with a welcome and be trusted. Your conduct must justify that welcome and that trust. Your duty cannot be done unless you are healthy and sound, so keep constantly on your guard against any excesses." •

The English people have never refused to applaud a generous foe. Amongst their national heroes—heroes of whom no English writer has ever written an unfriendly word—are Robert Bruce, Joan of Arc and George Washington, three foes of theirs who drove them out of Scotland, France and America. In the same spirit they welcomed General Botha when he visited London after the Boer War; in the same spirit it almost seems they would have welcomed Captain Müller of the *Emden*, for the authorities landed him secretly to prevent such a thing.

Let us conclude the chapter by recalling an act of chivalry. It so happened that some British soldiers fired by accident on a wounded German lying between their trench and the Germans'. The British officer, seeing this, silenced his own men's fire and left his trench to save the wounded man. The Germans, who had seen their comrade fired on, shot the British officer, perhaps under some mistake as to his purpose. He persevered, however, and lifted up the wounded German and carried him to the German trench. His action was then understood, and as he retired a German officer advancing from his trench pinned onto his breast his own Iron Cross, which is awarded in the German Army for valour. The British officer then returned to his own trench—where he died next day. He returned amid the loud cheers of the Germans and it was long before the two lines could bring themselves to fire on each other again.

If good is to come out of the evil of war it must come partly through such acts of chivalry as this, and we believe

the British people may still say they are able to perform these and to recognise them in others.

CHAPTER X

WAR TIMES IN BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE

When the war burst, like a summer storm, it took the people of Britain by surprise. For many years there had been an uneasy feeling about Germany, and it had often been said that war between Britain and Germany must some day break out. But just at the moment war seemed less likely than it long had seemed. The Balkan War of the year before had been ended peacefully; there was no immediate subject of quarrel between the two countries, and the Liberal Government contained men like Lord Morley, who were strong friends of peace on principle, and Lord Haldane, who were friends of Germany. Finally, the month of July is a holiday time in Europe, and in all countries many people were away on their holidays.

Within a few days this peaceful scene vanished as though some great shell had burst in it and blown it to pieces. The powers of Europe were swept into a war which everyone knew would be one of the sternest and the most momentous in history. In these pages we shall now ask in what spirit it was met by Britain and the British Empire, and what measures were taken to deal with the crisis.

The first thing to be done was to protect the banks against a panic. Banks keep only enough money for their daily needs, and if everyone who has money lodged with them suddenly asks for it back, the banks must close and there will be great loss and confusion. Accordingly the Government issued a *moratorium*, an order that banks need not pay out more than a part of the money people wished to draw. This lasted two months, during which every one found that Britain was rich enough to meet the crisis, and that trade

was not going to be ruined by the war. After two months the world of business returned to its usual ways. Gold now enters and leaves Britain as it did in times of peace; the notes of the banks can always be changed for gold and the credit of the nation stands unchanged.

From the first it has been necessary to think of the food supply, and to make sure of those articles of food for which we depend on foreign countries. In some cases the Government has secured this by the national purchase of supplies of the sugar crop of Java in the first year, and the fish catch of Norway more recently.

It has also been necessary to protect and encourage shipping, especially since the attacks by German submarines. The Government has effected this by taking up half the insurance of ships, at reasonable rates, so that their loss will not fall on owners or insurance companies.

All this was very promptly and skilfully arranged and gave everyone great confidence in the Government. At the same time it was announced that during the war no new proposals would be brought before Parliament on subjects concerning which opinion was divided. The Opposition accordingly gave their whole support to the Government and criticised nothing in cases where they did not feel they were giving assistance.

For some time this arrangement worked well. Not that everybody was satisfied with everything. There was much discussion as to whether all the Germans living in Britain ought to be shut up, and whether it was wise to leave any free—there is no doubt many of them were spies. There was dissatisfaction with the treatment of the press. It had been agreed that all news should be submitted to censors, and that the newspapers should not be allowed to publish any uncensored news. But it cannot be said that this censorship was well exercised: we might have been told more about our own soldiers' achievements without giving any help to the enemy.

After a time people began to think that the ablest of the Opposition leaders might be better used in the Government itself than outside it as critics, even as friendly critics. A Coalition Government was accordingly formed, in which Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour joined their old opponents in the Cabinet. And changes in the Government system went even further. It became recognised that a Cabinet is too large a body to form the swift decisions that are essential in war, and to follow out definite policies. We have seen that the Allies, especially Britain, have more than once found themselves too late in important fields. For this reason a war council of four men was chosen, to act without reference to the Cabinet, consulting when necessary the representatives of the Allies in London or Paris. Its first members were the two we have mentioned, with Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George.

As time went on a feeling arose that even this system was not simple enough, that the Cabinet itself might well disappear and the whole Government of the country might be left to the war council. Along with this went a feeling that Mr. Asquith had not personally shown enough speed or decision, and men began to look for a younger and more active leader. These feelings have now led to Mr. Asquith's retirement and placed Mr. Lloyd George in power. He has made many changes both in the system of Government and the men who carry it on. The Cabinet has disappeared; Mr. Lloyd George and four others form the war council. Outside the council are many ministers, with many new departments under them: the Munitions Department, the Blockade Department and others. Many of the ministers are men new to office; but all are men of note and experience, and all are united by the same resolution to carry on the war to victory. As for Mr. Lloyd George himself, he has always been a farsighted and energetic man. It was to him we owed the Munitions Department, and to him we shall now

owe the close control of food and all other resources which has become necessary. He is assured of the energetic support of the nation.

The course of the war has not failed to bring some suffering, but in Britain this has been less than was at one time expected. In early days trade fell off, but it has shown a wonderful recovery and the demand for military supplies has furnished work for everybody. Wages are high; the wives of soldiers who are fighting receive good allowances, and the poorer people throughout the country have rather gained than lost by the situation. Prices have risen however and there are classes which feel this acutely. Such are all who depend on fixed incomes, and almost all of the middle classes, from the bank clerk to the bank manager, the lawyer and the minister of religion. These classes are suffering.

People of all conditions are equally in mourning. More than fifty heirs to British peerages have fallen; there is scarcely a family among the working classes that does not mourn a member lost. This common loss however has brought with it a gain in common feeling. Before the war of nations, the peaceful war of political parties had divided the British nation a good deal, and the voice of common sense had almost been drowned by the clamour of men pushing selfish views about "rights".

We turn now to the British Empire beyond the seas. The events that meet our eyes are not all pleasant to contemplate. In South Africa some of the foremost men among the Dutch accepted German offers of assistance and took up arms to recover their old independence. But the people of the South are a divided race and a Dutch war against Britain would have become a never-ending civil war in their own land. The Dutch as a body desired no such thing, and the risings that did take place were put down by Dutch troops under the orders of the Dutch Government. The

head of that Government was General Botha, our most successful and persistent enemy in the war of fourteen years ago.

More recently, during the year 1916, Ireland was the scene of a nationalist rising with German support. Relying on their "gallant allies", as they said in their proclamation, the Sinn Feinn party seized the chief buildings in Dublin and other parts of the country, and proclaimed an Irish Republic. A few days of fierce fighting followed: there was much bloodshed, much destruction of property in Dublin, and the rising was quelled. It was one of the most wanton and wicked in history—the leader of the Irish party in Parliament has condemned it in the bitterest terms—and we have yet to see how it will affect the future of the land. Of the captured rebels a handful were shot, the rest imprisoned.

Among the imprisoned was a lady of high birth, who was found dressed like a man, directing the fighting. We may contrast her fate with that of an English lady, Miss Cavell, a nurse in Belgium, who assisted some prisoners to escape and was betrayed, tried, sentenced, and shot in a few hours by the Germans. It cannot be denied that her offence, under military law, justified her death—but is clemency never justified as well as severity? At least the British people may say that they prefer to try clemency—but clemency is not always possible: one of the Irish leaders who was shot was a man who fought against Britain in the Boer War and received his life from Britain then: it is not possible to spare so unrelenting a foe as this.

While recording this Irish rebellion we must not forget the many Irish soldiers who have enlisted in the army nor their valiant services: it was an Irish regiment that led the landing at Gallipoli. The future of the country is under consideration, and we can only hope that, in the new British Empire that follows the war, this problem will be solved.

We turn with more satisfaction to the record of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Of these countries Canada has a mixed population, partly French in origin, partly, in late years, recruited from the United States. The other countries have been colonised from Britain. In all of them sympathy with the British cause and the response to the military call have been equally strong and fervid. Between them, these lands have put into the field half a million soldiers, whose resolute courage has given them a conspicuous place in history. The troops from the Far South bore much of the hardest service in Gallipoli, and now the Canadians have been winning the same distinction in Flanders.

THE NEUTRAL STATES

The chief neutral states of Europe are Sweden, Holland, and Spain. The sentiment of Sweden, through her ancient hostility to Russia, is unfavourable to the Allies: that of the Dutch is coloured by fear of Germany: that of Spain is really and truly neutral. Across the Atlantic, the feeling of America is divided. The States have received from Germany during the last fifty years many millions of immigrants, all energetic and capable men, who have risen to eminent positions in all spheres of industry. Few British, on the other hand, have found a home there. When the war began Germany made a very great effort to carry the feelings of the States with her. Some of her ablest speakers went to lecture there, the country was deluged with German books on the war, and every possible appeal was made for American support. The German-Americans filled the country with clamour.

The German object was to persuade the States to refuse to supply the Allies with military stores. Germany, not being strong enough to intercept these on the sea, wished

the States to make up for her weakness: she suggested that it was not permissible for a neutral power to supply either side with arms. Now President Wilson had determined to be neutral, but he did not take this view of neutrality, and the States supplied the Allies with invaluable material in the early days of the war. When this became clear there was much bitterness among Germans and German-Americans: many plots were formed in America to destroy factories where ammunition was made and plots were even formed to blow up bridges and burn ships. Some of these succeeded and others failed. It became known that these plots were assisted by the German ambassadors in the States, and the Austrian ambassador was expelled from the country together with high officials of the German embassy.

The President however was careful not to quarrel with the Germans, even in the face of greater provocation than this. When the Germans declared war against merchant ships approaching Britain, their first act was to sink the *Lusitania*, the largest boat at sea. It went down with fifteen hundred passengers off the coast of Ireland. Hundreds of these passengers were Americans, and the world looked on with interest to see what America would do. She was entitled by all international law to demand that the Germans should not carry on the war in such a way as to cause the death of her citizens, and in fact the President did protest against Germany's action. But the Germans excused themselves, and for over a year there was an interchange of arguments between the two countries. In the meantime Germans continued to sink passenger ships and drown Americans. At last the States made it clear that war would follow if any more were drowned, and Germany then promised that in the interests of American citizens she would not sink passenger or merchant ships before those on board were put into boats. Accordingly since then no more Americans have been drowned, but the ships of small

neutral nations are still sunk when it is certain that no Americans are on board.*

The reason for the President's attitude is given by himself as a desire to be of service in the final hour when some mediation between the enemies becomes possible: he wishes to be received then as an impartial judge. We can respect this motive, but there are two criticisms which history will make on the American attitude:—

1. America signed the treaty which guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium: why did she remain silent when that treaty was broken?

2. She defended the rights of her own citizens on the seas: might she not have given some help to small nations like Norway, many of whose citizens have been drowned?

We must not forget the services of America to prisoners: the American embassy has made the life of British prisoners in Germany much more tolerable. And America has undertaken the distribution of relief among the Belgians. Germany, by forbidding all industry in Belgium and carrying off all food, has reduced the whole country to famine, and the population is now being supported by charity, chiefly sent from Britain and America. The same task cannot be undertaken in Poland because the Germans will not promise to abstain from using for their own troops the food sent to the starving population.

* Telegrams like the following appear daily in the papers:

London, June 12.

The Norwegian steamer Orkedal has been sunk and the Norwegian steamer Prosper III mined.

Thirty on board the Prosper III were drowned. Four escaped in a boat, but three of them died before it was picked up several days later.

The Swedish steamer Para has been torpedoed and the Swedish schooner Heidi mined. The crews were saved.

A German submarine without giving warning shelled and sank the Norwegian steamer Rimina in the Mediterranean. Five of the crew were killed while taking to the boats. The rest have been picked up.

CHAPTER XI

THE ISSUES OF THE WAR

There is a point of view from which this war, like so many others, is simply a war of races. It is a new struggle of Germany in Europe to expand, just as the Germans did long ago when they wrecked the Empire of Rome. We need not wonder at such a movement. There is no longer room in Germany today for her countless millions. The only place in the world where there seems to be any unoccupied land suitable for them is the Euphrates valley, and the war is partly a struggle to move in that direction. It is also a struggle towards the sea and command of the sea. The German ports on the North Sea are for ever threatened by the neighbourhood and the power of Britain.

We in Britain must to some extent look on the war in just this way. It is a war which threatens our life as a nation. The numbers of Britain are very much smaller than those of the German peoples; if the victory is theirs, they will strip Britain of everything she possesses, and leave her as a small island off the coast of Germany, which will not be permitted to keep an army or a navy.

But there is the further question whether this war of races is also a war of principles. The wars of the French Revolution were wars of principle; though they led to the French Empire, still that empire brought with it the idea of the Rights of Man, and, more or less, the Nationalist idea. Are there any ideas for which either side is fighting today?

It is not easy to answer this question, because the crisis has come on us so suddenly. We do not yet understand quite what the situation is. It is clear however that this is not a religious war; England and Prussia

are Protestant, France and Austria belong to the Church of Rome. Nor can we say that the free governments are on one side and the absolute governments on the other; Russia and Prussia are both absolute governments. It is true that Russia is moving towards a government by parliament,* but the movement is slow and it has not gone far. Perhaps we shall do best in this matter of principles to confine ourselves to the differences between Germany and Britain, and to leave out of sight the other Powers.

The first difference between Germany and Britain, as states, is that in Britain the Sovereign owes his throne to popular consent; in Germany the Kaiser claims that he owes it directly to God. The British Sovereign has no personal power: the State is ruled by ministers who represent the people; in Germany the power of the Kaiser is supreme and his ministers are chosen by himself. Under these ministers is an army of officials chosen and paid by them; in Britain there are very few officials and they are people of little power, chosen and paid by public bodies such as Municipalities.

The German officials rule and regulate the lives of people in almost all matters of conduct. Their rule is good and honest, and it has made Germany strong and rich and healthy. There is no country where the State does so much for the citizen. It watches over his food and housing and communications; it provides him with religion and education; it finds work for him when he needs it, and a pension in his old age. On the other hand it leaves him little freedom to choose in these matters; he has to accept the official choice. The Germans on the whole do not mind this, and they feel that gratitude to the State requires them to make great sacrifices when the State asks for them, to serve willingly in her armies, to pay heavy taxes, and above all to venerate and obey the Kaiser. For generations these

* The Russian Parliament is called the Duma.

lessons have been carefully taught by official schoolmasters in schools and official preachers in pulpits.

This system is by no means English. What we trust to is the voluntary association of our citizens, which leaves them free even when they put themselves under rules. This system has great drawbacks, for it leaves the selfish and lazy free as well as the men of principle, and there are more bad citizens in England than in Prussia. This lesson is beginning to be learned in England, and people are beginning to think that the State should control the lives of men much more than it used to. But they still think the State should be created by the citizens themselves, in their own assemblies, and they do not in the least intend to turn their Sovereign into a Kaiser.

England and Germany in these matters had much to learn from each other, and it is a pity that this mutual instruction has been interrupted by a war. However, so it is. We have now to see, in the light of war, which system gives most strength to a nation ; and, according to the victory, popular rule or absolute rule will progress in favour with the world.

Britain and Germany differ in their views as to the use of imperial power. In this much they agree, that each nation would give its own character to its empire, but the British character prefers to see different nations or communities follow their own ideas and progress on their own lines, while the German character imposes on everybody German ways. We have learnt the wisdom of our own course after long experience and many mistakes. We did not always extend or govern our Empire on these lines; and the mistakes of the past have left us some troubles and some problems which are hard to settle. There are some nations within the British Empire which are not contented, like the Irish. More of this has been said elsewhere : what we are noticing now is that the British Empire seeks to extend

over its share of the world a common government in which different peoples with different histories and different aims can cooperate and live at peace. This is a task hard enough in itself, for even within the Empire these differences give rise to perplexities and sore feelings, but at least an attempt is made to settle the disputes by peaceful means.

Here again we meet with a difference of policy between Britain and Germany. It may be true that there are many peaceful Germans, but it is true that Germany is a military country in a sense in which Britain is not. The honour paid to the military uniform, especially that of the officer, is unknown in Britain. In Britain the military officer is never more than a simple citizen; in Germany he is in many ways above the law. He is permitted to engage in deadly duels when he quarrels with his brother officers, and to punish with his own sword any ordinary citizen who affronts him. This excessive respect for the military uniform is part of what we call the "militarism" of Germany. Another part is the power which the Army, through its Generals, has in the government of the country: the Kaiser is surrounded by Generals and he consults them more than he consults the German Parliament. And finally the "militarism" of Germany means the system under which every man must serve in the army. This, no doubt, was forced on Germany by hard necessity in the days when she lay beneath the feet of Napoleon. But those days are gone, and still Germany by persisting in this system has forced it on the rest of Europe. She has even forced it at last on Britain. In the first eighteen months of the war Britain raised five million troops by voluntary effort. This was a great achievement, and we had hopes that our voluntary system would see us victorious in the war. It became clear however that this system did not put the very last man into the field and that the very last man would be wanted: the

nation therefore found itself reluctantly compelled to enforce national service on everybody.

Most Englishmen hope and believe that compulsion has not come to stay. They believe that there should be a small standing army which men may join who are naturally drawn to the soldier's profession, that able-bodied men everywhere should come forward to undergo some simple training as volunteers; and that in a time of national peril everyone should hear the call to arms. But where every man is turned into a professional soldier there grows up a confidence in arms and even a desire for war: this is "militarism". It is contrary to the British ideal, which is to associate civilisation with peace.

Finally this war is an effort to preserve the idea of an international law. Now law between nations is a different thing from law between men, because there is really no power to fix and enforce it. Some day perhaps there may be such a power, but at present there are only agreements by treaty between various nations. These agreements usually deal with particular points of difference, on which the consenting nations agree to act in a particular way. Thus, for instance, the States of Europe agreed that they would not enter the territory of Belgium and Switzerland, if they were fighting with each other, and that if any Power did attack these states the other Powers would interfere by force of arms to protect them. Now it cannot be said that treaties of this kind bind any nation for ever. After some years the men who signed them die, and the next generation may think differently from their predecessors. In any case circumstances change, and the time may always come when a nation is entitled to say that it considers itself no longer bound by a particular treaty. But this does not leave a nation free to say that it does not consider treaties bind it for a moment. The right view is that treaties seriously made must be kept as long as

possible. A nation which says this and acts up to it gains the confidence of other nations and not only helps the peace of the world but strengthens itself.

Before the outbreak of the present war Germany had promised to respect the neutrality of Belgium. We have good reason to suspect that when she made the promise she did not mean to keep it; at any rate, when the moment came in which that promise ought to have protected Belgium, at once she broke it. When the British Ambassador protested, the German Chancellor expressed his amazement that Britain should care so much about "a scrap of paper". Will it satisfy the Germans if the world treats their next promise as "a scrap of paper"? They offered Britain a promise that, if she would remain neutral, they would leave Belgium after the war—supposing they won. Was this too "a scrap of paper"?

The breaking of promises by Germany does not end here, but this instance will show one principle that Britain is fighting for—the observation of treaties and national promises. This is the last point we shall make regarding the issues of the war. So far as Britain and Germany are concerned it is a war between different views of life, different views of civilisation and war, different views of empire. We trust that Britain will win, and that British views will be justified.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA AND THE WAR

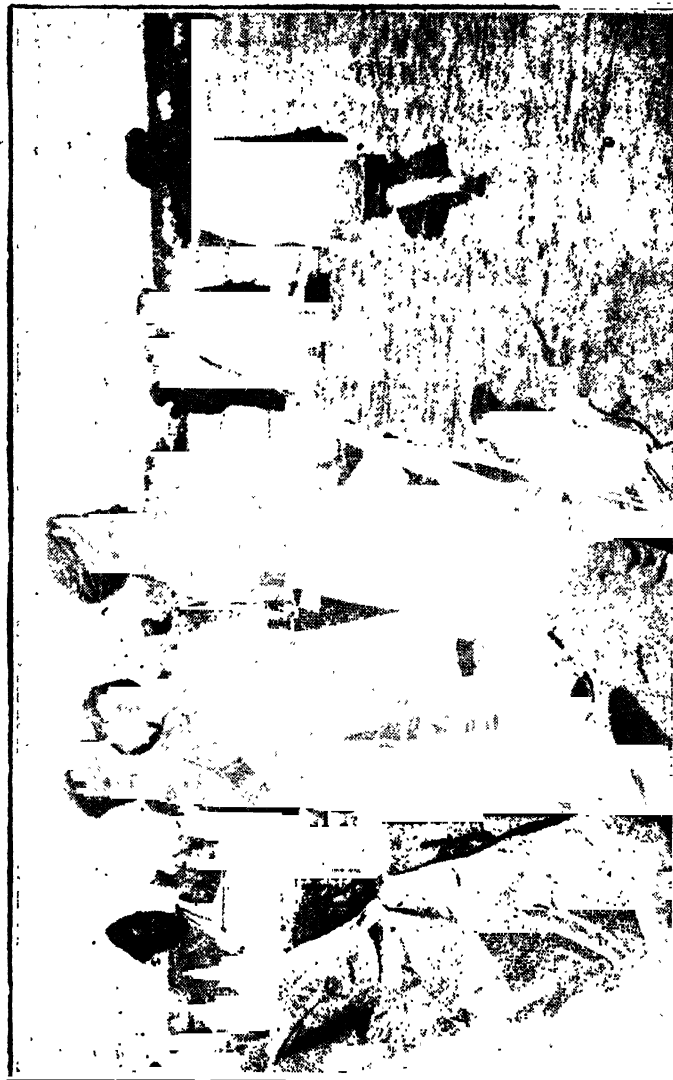
In European wars for the last hundred years India has taken no part but that of a spectator; today she enters the scene of conflict. Not everyone foresaw this, nor can it be said that either the British Government or the people of India had considered what they would do in the hour of a European war. When that hour came, however, it found in the Viceroy a man who united decision of character with

insight into the sentiments of India, who was fitted therefore to speak for the country and to guide it into the path which accorded with its own true wishes and its most generous impulses. Lord Hardinge neither doubted nor permitted others to doubt for one moment the loyalty of India; and on the outbreak of the war he sent to the British Sovereign an assurance of India's sympathy and support which the Indian people of every class since then have amply endorsed.

In accordance with this assurance an immediate decision was taken to place Indian troops in the field along with the British Army. A large portion of the British garrison in India was transported to France, and with it went, as companions in arms, regiments representing all the fighting races of India. Pathans, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Rajputs and Punjabis, descendants of races long at strife in their native lands, all now found themselves marshalled in a common cause with British officers under the British flag.

What was that cause? No one supposes that the Indian rank and file understood the position in Europe. The Germans were less than a name to most of them. But the peace and prosperity of India were a reality; they knew that these things depended on the government that they served, and they made its enemies their own. Educated men have shared this same feeling, but they have passed a judgment on the cause of the Allies, and they have agreed that the cause is one which they approve and support. We shall see in a moment what sort of support they have given it; but let us first follow the Indian soldiers to the field.

We must follow them through a long journey, on which most of them for the first time saw the sea and ships, to a new country, where everything was strange and much was incomprehensible, to a climate the severity of which they had never experienced, and finally to the most trying of all forms of warfare. The cold and the wet of the European



An Indian Camp in France

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winter and the long exposure in the trenches were hardships for the strongest European constitutions—to the Indians they were a test of mettle that no campaign in history has surpassed. With great satisfaction we must record the result that they have lived up to their own traditions and satisfied their Commander-in-Chief and their countrymen. The Indian troops on their first arrival in France took their place in the British line near Ypres, where they experienced all the trials of that great conflict, its fierce struggles, its doubtful moments, and its final success. They had their share of the honours of the field, and many of them received military decorations, including the highest reward of valour in the British army, the Victoria Cross. This was awarded for instance to a sepoy of the 129th Baluchis, Khudadad Khan, the last survivor of a machine-gun section, who kept his weapon in action after all his companions had fallen. It was also



awarded to Chattar Singh of the 9th Bhopal Infantry "for most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in leaving cover to assist his Commanding Officer, who was lying wounded and helpless in the open".

Let us commemorate along with him a Sikh who retired from his regiment some years ago, and when the war broke out was making money in the Argentine Republic. He threw up his work, paid his own passage to London, and offered his services at the front. He is surely entitled to

all the praise that courage and loyalty can deserve.

It was decided not to expose the Indian troops to the hardships of a second European winter, and in 1915 they were all removed from France, mostly to Egypt, in some cases to the Persian Gulf. There they have had to meet other difficulties, but they are no less active in the service of India and the Empire.

We must commemorate the loyalty of the Indian chiefs who have assisted with troops, and in many cases rendered valuable service themselves. The civil population have supported their soldiers both with sympathy and money. Various funds have been started to relieve distress occasioned by the war and to provide soldiers with comforts. There is an Imperial Relief Fund, there are Provincial Funds, and special funds have been started by women. Out of these funds, hospitals have been supported, hospital ships equipped, and the sufferings of soldiers in many ways lightened. The unfortunate Belgians have not been forgotten, and a fund has been opened for their benefit. The children of the Bombay Presidency made a special effort on behalf of the Belgian children and they raised by means of entertainments the sum of sixty thousand rupees for their relief.

On reading the subscription lists of these funds one is amazed at the variety of the donors and their liberality. Great chiefs we find there and rich merchants—these we expect to find—but we find also coolies and mill-hands and villagers and students and school-boys. With a little personal knowledge we shall become aware of cases of very humble persons who have undergone privation to help the funds without any idea of gain or recognition.

The civil population of India have not yet suffered severely from the war. We cannot doubt however that as the war goes on and the whole world is impoverished, India will suffer more and more. We doubt not she will meet the occasion with sense and fortitude.

Something too she will gain. She will gain a feeling that the people of India have a place among the nations. She will gain self-respect and dignity, and the whole outlook of the nation will be broadened. Possibly too she will gain some commercial advantages, if she is ready to take them. At least she will learn the need for skilled workmen and intelligent enterprise.

Finally, we may hope that the mutual good feeling called forth by the crisis will bring the European and Indian closer together and ensure for both a renewed life of fruitful co-operation. We all know that some differences have marked recent years, and there have been painful episodes. The war may teach us all to look for occasions of harmony rather than of strife. The King-Emperor has struck the note for all his subjects in the words of his own message to the Viceroy:—"Among the many incidents that marked the unanimous uprising of the population of My Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to My Throne expressed both by My Indian subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and the Ruling Chiefs of India, and their prodigal offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the Realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in the conflict has touched My heart, and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked My Indian subjects and Myself. I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of goodwill and fellowship which greeted My return in February 1912, after the solemn ceremony of My Coronation Durbar at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked". On all sides let us re-echo this note.

A word of gratitude is due to His Majesty the King of Afghanistan for his consistent support of the British Government of India. We now know that he was directly approached

by a party of Germans from the German Government and invited to take up arms against Britain. But this he refused to do. He recognised the path pointed out alike by duty and common sense and he did not allow his subjects to suppose for a moment that the issue of the long struggle could be doubtful. We have had some trouble with the frontier tribes who own no ruler, but the ruler of Afghanistan has been our steadfast friend.

CHAPTER XIII

RESULTS AND PROSPECTS

The results of the war up-to-date are a little puzzling to estimate and at first sight might seem a little disappointing. After more than two years of fighting Belgium and Northern France are still in the hands of the enemy; so is the whole of Poland and Serbia and most of Roumania: at no point have the Allied forces entered Germany proper. The Italians have made little progress towards Trieste and they have been driven out of the Trentino. In Mesopotamia we must wait yet some time before the loss of Kut is retrieved.

On the other hand the German plans have failed everywhere of complete success. They have not reached Paris nor even Riga. The invasion of England and the invasion of Egypt have both failed to come off. The rebellion in Ireland has been a shameful failure and the British Empire everywhere has gained strength and a sense of union from the shock of conflict.

Nor have Germany's losses been small: she has been stripped of the whole of her colonial possessions except fast vanishing East Africa. Her foreign trade has disappeared; Britain at least has lost nothing in territory and her trade shows a quite remarkable growth both in imports and in exports.

The losses to both sides in men cannot be accurately estimated. The latest German figures admit four million casualties, of which over one million and a half are total losses. Whether this figure can be trusted is a question on which people think differently. Austria publishes no figures; nor does Russia nor France. The last British figures show three-quarters of a million casualties—some nine months ago.

It cannot be reckoned with certainty what forces Germany has now in the field, but it would be a mistake to underestimate them. It must not be forgotten that the Turks have brought into the field a million soldiers to their help. And the strength of the German positions must not be underestimated either, nor the fact that their railways enable them to move their men about from one theatre to another. It was thought that the Allies might prevent them from doing this by a concerted attack on every front, but so far no such attack has been found possible.

The time may come for it, especially as the Allies are now better off for ammunition. Weakness in this point was the chief cause of their inactivity in 1915 and one great cause of Russia's reverses. It has now, we may hope, been remedied. The difficulties of cooperation have been gradually dealt with: it is clear that a council of war where six different languages are spoken is at much disadvantage compared with the councils of the enemy.

Meantime there is always the blockade. We have learned not to expect so much from this as we did in early days. The German chemists have proved equal to the situation. They have learned to make explosives out of wood instead of cotton fibre, and to supply the places of petrol and rubber. But for all that their supply of many useful articles is running short, of wool and leather, and no doubt in some measure of copper. The food question, if not acute, is disagreeably pressing. Meat and wheat are both deficient and

fats of all kinds are disappearing from the country. It is becoming more than ever necessary for Germany to win a decisive victory in the field.

Now the Allies have their own troubles. Their own losses of men are prodigious, their expenses incredible. Britain alone is spending nearly five million pounds a day on the war. She is in fact providing most of the financial resources of the Allies. France, with her chief manufacturing districts in the hands of the Germans, must have gone under long ago from exhaustion had not Britain kept her supplied both with money and food. This expense has been met by loans and by taxation, and the country has so far answered all demands upon her. But as time goes by our resources will need to be husbanded and all classes in Britain may feel the pinch more than they do now.

We are sure however that when this moment comes it will find the people of Britain prepared for it. They are united in the determination to win, and the same determination inspires all the Allies. They have realised what the issue is. Germany has more than once suggested what she calls terms of reasonable peace. Belgium, Poland and Serbia are to become vassal states of Germany, Turkey is to be left to her as an exclusive sphere of influence, and England is to give up the right of blockade in future wars. It is evident that these terms presuppose a German victory, but this has not yet been won and the Allies will not give them a moment's thought. They have not defined in detail what they desire or intend, but as far as Britain is concerned it is essential that Belgium shall be set free and compensated, so far as money can compensate for what she has suffered, and that the military system of Prussia shall be broken up. Peace on the offered terms of Germany would once more be an iron peace. Europe would again be an armed camp, where the first duty of every man was to qualify as a soldier and half the income

of the world was spent on military preparation.

When the hour for negotiation has really come there will be problems to meet. The war began, so far as we are concerned, as a war of liberation : it must not end by imposing any yoke of slavery on anyone. The mixture of races in South-Eastern Europe will make this a difficult aim to secure and we cannot here discuss plans of attaining it. But at least we can set it before ourselves and we can cultivate the frame of mind without which the future of Europe and the world will be hopeless. Germany as a part of the civilised world is indispensable : in virtue of her numbers and the genius of her race she ought to take, as she has taken, a leading part in art, knowledge and social progress. She must be left free to take this part. But her pride must be chastised, she must renounce her confidence in the strong arm, and she must leave others room to breathe and live in.

We trust that all this will be accomplished, but we do not write in any spirit of easy-going optimism. There was plenty of this in early days on both sides—both sides have learned a lesson. What we need is neither optimism nor pessimism but unflinching resolution. "We have to stick it out", said Lord Kitchener in his last letter, "and to do our very best till relief comes." He expressed the feeling of all sensible men. We are confident that his words will find the same response from sensible men in India as elsewhere, and we shall leave them on record as our motto for the hour and the closing words of our little book.

APPENDIX A

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Readers may be interested in the following list of books.

A. GENERAL

- (a) *Germany of the Germans*. By R. M. Berry. Sir Isaac Pitman. Written before the war.
- (b) *German Culture*. Published by T. C. & A. Jack. Essays by leading English authorities.
- (c) *The German War of 1914*. By J. R. H. O'Regan. Oxford University Press. Documents of European History from 1815 to 1915.
- (d) *The Origins of the War*. By J. H. Rose. Cambridge University Press.
- (e) *What is Wrong with Germany?* By W. A. Dawson. Longmans, Green & Co.
- (f) *Deutschland über Alles*. By J. J. Chapman. G. P. Pitman's Sons.
- (g) *How the War Began*. By J. M. Kennedy. Hodder & Stoughton. Diplomatic correspondence.
- (h) *The War, its Causes and its Message*. Speeches by the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Methuen.
- (i) *Report of the Committee on alleged German Outrages*. The Stationery Office. The official document.

B. MAPS AND PICTURES

The best maps in English are in the *Times Atlas of the War*, 2/6.

The best pictures are the *French Official Photographs of the War*, in one volume, 25 Francs, Armand Colin, Boulevard St. Michel, Paris.

APPENDIX B

A TABLE OF THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE WAR

The Western Front	The Eastern Front	Turkey and the South	Italy and General
1914			
<i>August</i>	Germans invade Belgium. British forces in France.	Germany declares war against Russia. Russians invade Prussia: battle of Tannenberg.	British and Indian troops land in Mesopotamia.
<i>September</i>	German retirement in France begins. Indian forces land in France.		
<i>October</i>		Turks attack Odessa.	
<i>November</i>	Russia occupies Galicia.	British fleet attacks the Dardanelles.	Japan takes Tsingtau.
<i>December</i>		Austrians driven out of Serbia.	

1915	The Western Front	The Eastern Front	Turkey and the South	Italy and General
<i>February</i>	German submarine attacks on commerce begin.	<i>August</i>	Turkish attack on Egypt repulsed.	Italy declares war.
<i>April</i>	German attack on Ypres fails.	<i>June</i>	Allied forces land in Gallipoli.	South-West Africa occupied.
<i>May</i>		Fall of Lemberg : Russians lose Galicia.		
<i>September</i>	British capture Loos. French advance in Champagne.	Fall of Warsaw : Russians lose forts in Poland.		

The Western Front	The Eastern Front	Turkey and the South	Italy and General
<i>October</i>	Russians save Riga.	Allied forces land at Salonika.	British victory at Ctesiphon.
<i>November</i>			Siege of Kut begins.
<i>December</i>		Occupation of Serbia by Germans and Bulgarians. Allies retire from Gallipoli.	
		1916	
<i>February</i>		Capture of Erzeroum.	
<i>March</i>	German attack on Verdun begins.		Austrian attack in the Trentino begins.
<i>April</i>			Surrender of Kut.
<i>May</i>	Naval battle off Jutland.		
<i>June</i>	Russians retake Czernovitz.		

The Western Front	The Eastern Front	Turkey and the South	Italy and General
<i>July</i>	Allied advance on the Somme begins.	Strong Russian offensive.	Austrian invasion of Italy repelled.
<i>August</i>	Roumania declares war.		Italians capture Goritz.
<i>September</i>	Roumanians invade Transylvania.		
<i>October</i>	Invasion of the Dobrudja.		
<i>November</i>			
French recapture lost positions at Verdun.	Invasion of Roumania.	Serbians recapture Monastir.	
<i>December</i>	Fall of Bukharest.	Crisis in Greece.	

APPENDIX C

IMPORTANT DATES IN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Boys using this book should not be required to commit too many dates to memory. The following list contains all that are necessary.

A. D.

- 400 Fall of Roman Empire. German invasions begin.
- 800 Coronation of Charlemagne.
- 1500 Reformation.
- 1618 - 1648 Thirty Years' War.
- 1700 Louis XIV King of France.
- 1789 French Revolution.
- 1815 Battle of Waterloo.
- 1866 Prussia defeats Austria.
- 1870 Prussia defeats France.
- 1899 Boer War in South Africa; hostile sentiment between Germany and Britain.
- 1904 Entente Cordiale.
- 1914 Outbreak of War.

